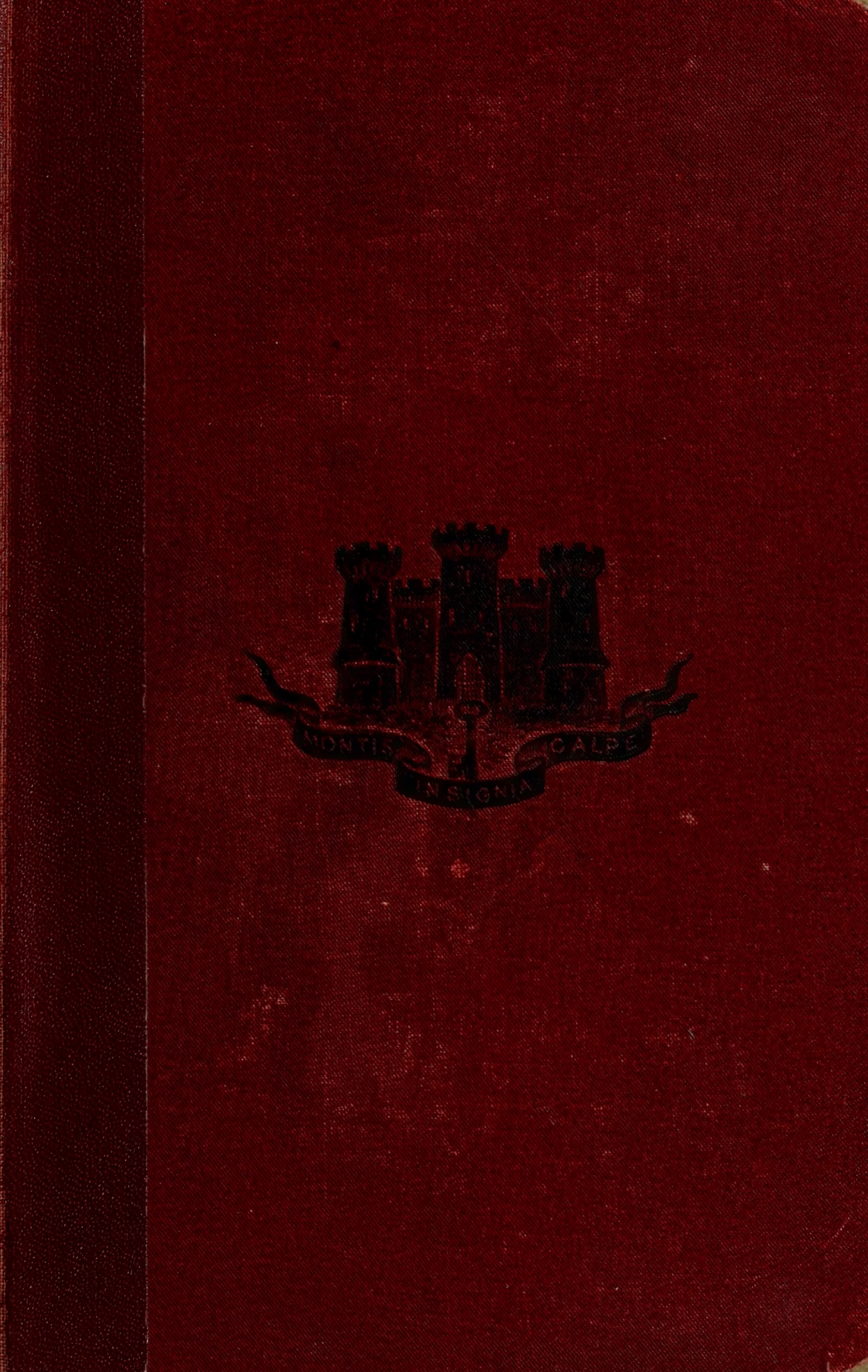
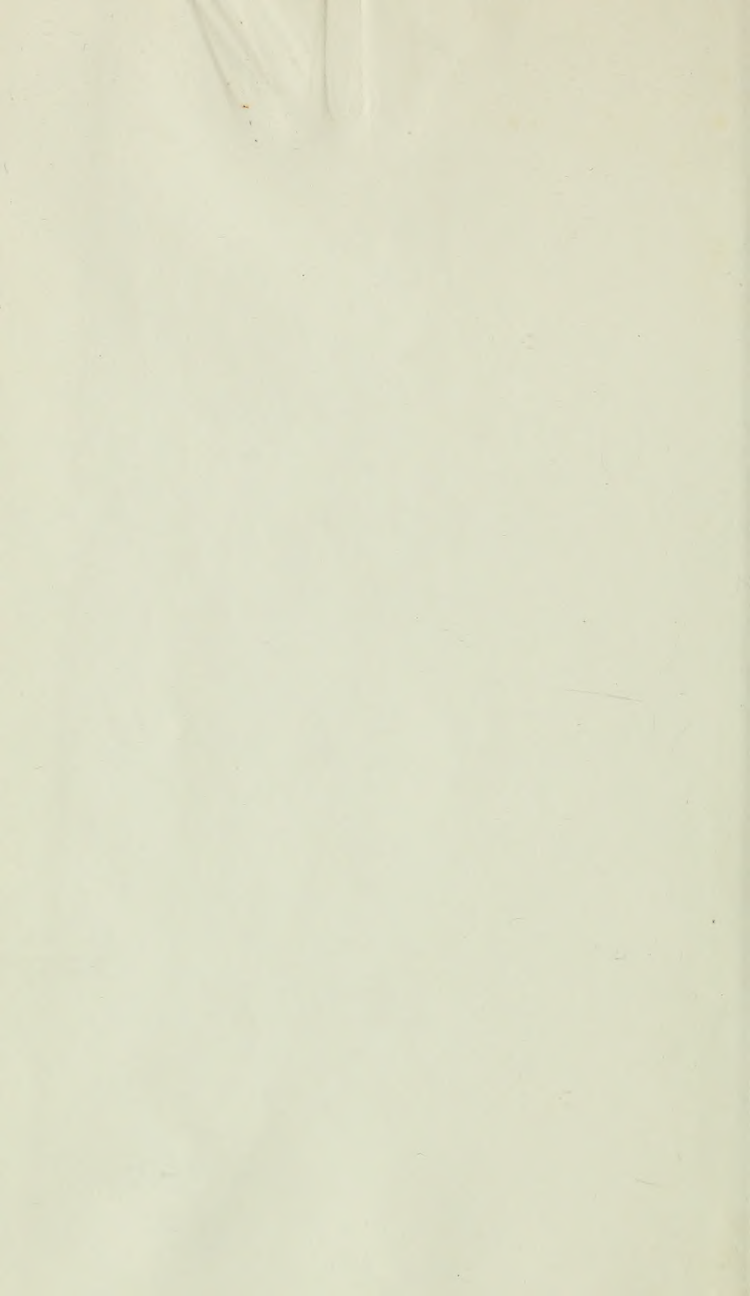
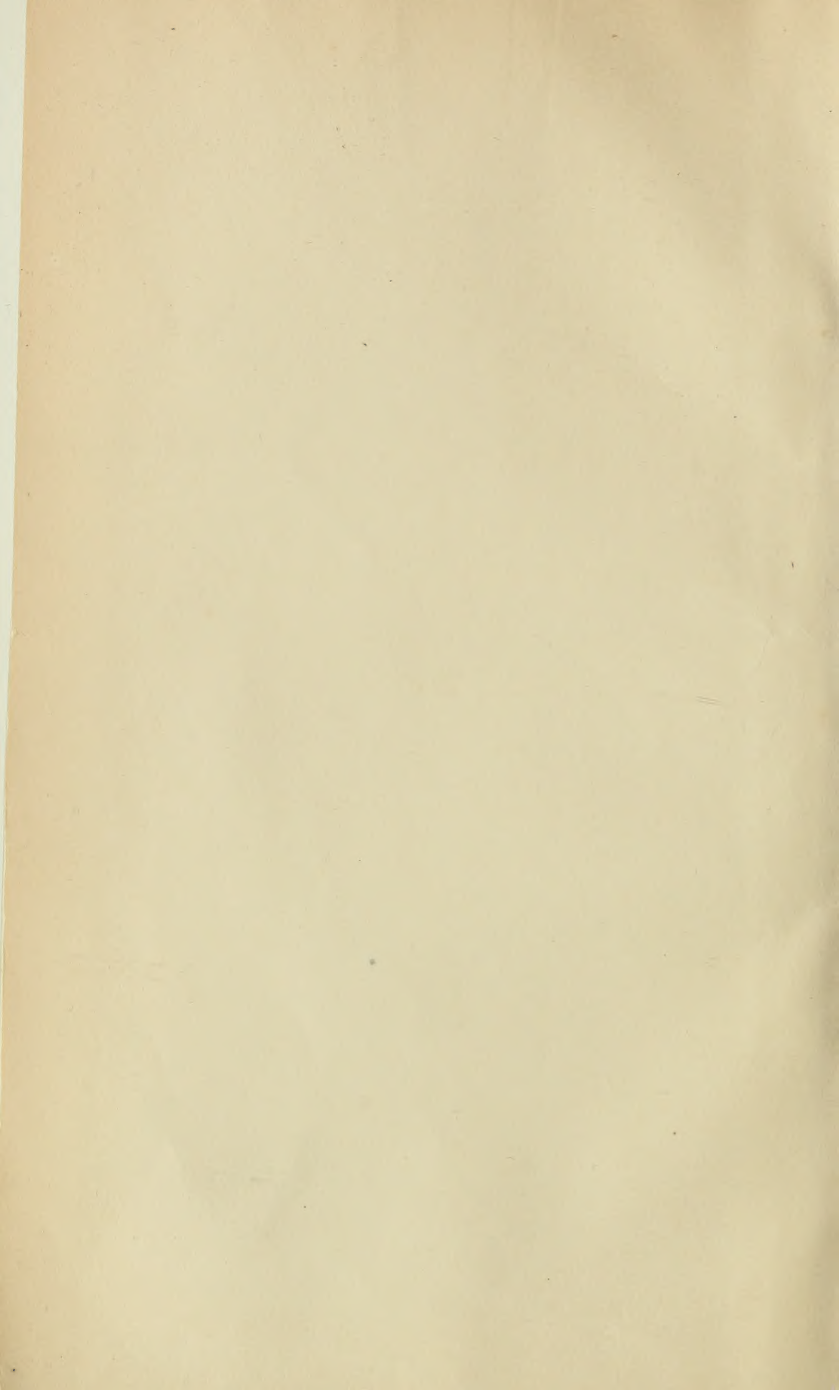

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Carr L. Hayes

Christmas 1894

HISTORY

OF

THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN

BY

THE ARAB-MOORS.

IN TWO VOLUMES, VOL. II.

. . . beatis nunc Arabum invides
Gazis, et acrem militiam paras
Non ante devictis Sabææ
Regibus.

HORAT. *Carm. Lib.* i. xxix.

"This book contains an account of the Conquest of Andalus by the Moslems . . . and how that country became the arena wherein their noble steeds raced, and the halting-place wherein their camels laid down their burdens and grazed; . . . drawn from various sources, and the accounts of historians compared together."

AL MAKKARI, *Hist. Mohamm. Dyn.*,
Vol. I., Book IV., Ch. I.

HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF SPAIN

BY

THE ARAB-MOORS.

WITH

A SKETCH OF THE CIVILIZATION WHICH THEY ACHIEVED, AND IMPARTED TO EUROPE.

BY

HENRY COPPÉE.

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BOOK VI.

THE CHECK TO NORTHERN ADVANCE, AND THE DISORDERS IN MOSLEM SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

THE GREAT BATTLE BETWEEN TOURS AND POITIERS, OCT. 3, 732.

The classic fields of Touraine.

TO the student of history, and especially to the military student, the province of Touraine, with the circumjacent territories of Orleannois, Anjou, and Poitou, is at once classic and romantic ground. It comprises principally the valley of the Loire, and has been called the "Garden of France." Within that territory have been enacted many of the most interesting and some of the most tragic scenes in the wonderful melodrama of French history. Here, in the year 507, took place the terrible conflict between Clovis and the Visigothic king, Alarik II., which tried the mettle of Goths and Franks, and which arrayed the Catholic and Arian creeds in hostile ranks of armed men. At Blois, the traveller has a realizing sense of the cold-blooded assassination of the Guises, at the instance and within the hearing of Henry III. Plessis-les-Tours

still savors of the coward cruelties of Louis XI., which sheltered themselves behind man-traps and bristling port-holes. The great deeds of Joan of Arc were conceived at Chinon, and her reputed miracles were wrought at Orleans. The last burial-place of Richard Cœur de Lion, as also that of his father, is at Fontevrault. Maupertuis, five miles east of Poitiers, is distinguished as the spot where the famous Black Prince routed the French and captured their King John in 1356.[1]

Fontevrault and Maupertuis.

In La Vendée some of the most fearful scenes of the French Revolution were enacted.[2] But, interesting as are these events, not one of them surpasses in importance and in romantic interest the great battle between the Moslems and the Franks, which is now to be considered.

The city of Tours stands on the southern bank of the Loire, near its junction with the Cher. The country lying between it and Poitiers rises and falls in gentle undulations, and was then dotted with forests. It is watered and fertilized by numerous small streams, among which are the Cher, the Creuse, the Indre, the Vienne, and the Claire, which, however, offer no impediments to the movements of armies. Most of the ground is rich pasture-land ; and here and there a slight eminence would be of good service as head-quarters from

The country between Tours and Poitiers.

[1] The French call the battle *Maupertuis*, the English, *Poitiers*. It was fought at the former place, — five miles from the latter.

[2] Rendered still more horrible by the gloating pen of Victor Hugo, in that most fearful of historic romances, "Quatre-vingt-treize."

which to direct and discern the progress of a battle. The nature of the *terrain* has caused it to be often selected by armed hosts seeking the ordeal of battle. As to the more exact and limited ground upon which the great battle between Charles and Abdu-r-rahmán was fought, we are left somewhat, if not entirely, to conjecture. Condé says, "The battle was fought on the fields of Poitiers and on the banks of one of the streams that fall into the Loire."[1] There is no record in French annals that bones or relics of arms and armor have ever been found in that locality.

Conjectures as to the place of the battle.

The Moslem host was so large that their encampment covered a very extensive ground: the divisions were somewhat scattered, until the very time of the battle, for convenience of space and water, and to separate the envious tribes from each other. I am inclined to believe that the conflict began on, or very near, the banks of the Cher, which would offer a national entrenchment to the Franks, and that it moved forward on the part of the Franks, during the progress of the action, so that, when it ended, the Moslems had been thrust back to their camps, on or near the banks of the Vienne at Chatellerault, on the present high-road between Tours and Poitiers. The Moslem army had pushed forward rapidly from Poitiers, after burning the church of St. Hilaire. Condé says, "The Moslemah had now approached Medina Towers [the city of Tours."] Charles Martel

[1] Historia de la Dominacion (I. Pt. I. ch. xxv.). Eginhard says (Vita Caroli Magni, ch. ii.) "in Aquitania apud Pictavium civitatem."

must have felt, whatever his confidence in an untried army, a proper solicitude for guarding the national entrenchments of the Cher and the Loire, and protecting Tours. Abdu-r-rahmán had boasted and vowed that, as he had pillaged and burned the church of St. Hilaire at Poitiers, he would pillage and burn that of St. Martin, the guardian of Tours. Whatever he may have felt for the defence of Christendom at large, the first duty of Charles was the defence of St. Martin.[1]

The defence of St. Martin.

A more exact determination of the locality is of but little importance. So, too, the details of the battle have been left to the imagination of the chroniclers: the real annals do not supply them; the chronicles exaggerate and distort them. But the great features may be readily discerned; and, even beyond these, the imagination, when properly curbed by the judgment, may be considered a safe and comfortable guide.

The Arab chieftain had now collected all his scattered detachments, and their encampments, by tribes, upon the undulating terrain, extending far and wide, appeared to the anxious Franks like a large city.[2] And in this extemporized city, which was full of booty, each quarter had its special guard, not against the Franks, but, because of the suspicions of the tribes, against each other. The enthusiasm of the

[1] The second continuator of Frédégaire tells us, "Après avoir livré aux flammes, la basilisque de Saint Hilaire, chose douloureuse à rapporter, ils se préparèrent à marcher pour détruire celle de Saint Martin de Tours."

[2] "Qui ressemblaient de loin à une grande cité." — H. MARTIN, *Histoire de France*, II. 205.

Moslem troops had now become so greatly diminished that many of them, we are informed by the Arabian chronicles, would have been glad to abandon the further scheme of conquest, and to return to Narbonne with their rich spoils. This was no longer possible: the eventful day had arrived; a terrible battle was inevitable, and they nerved themselves for the conflict. From their former experience, they had little reason to fear the event. Issuing from their camps at the command of the Amir, the swarm of troops which came into line in front, seemed to the Christian host innumerable. Far the greater part were cavalry, — that cavalry which had so often displayed its powers, in ready attack and rapid retreat, in pouncing suddenly on weak points, and, by the celerity of its movements, in seeming to be in many places at once.[1]

The Arabians make ready for battle.

When they were formed in battle array, a select party, easily depicted to the fancy, advanced from the front: their brown faces set off by white turbans and striped burnus, or light, flowing sayas, covering chain mail, — already adopted by the Moslem officers, — their small round shields, slender lances, and curved cimeters, their incomparable horses, all astonished the Frankish soldiers, as they galloped swiftly along the front to survey the line of battle now opposed to them. Great, too, in turn was the amazement of the Moslemah. They had seen no such enemy in Africa or in Spain. Here were northern giants with streaming light hair beneath brilliant hel-

The reconnoitring party.

[1] Condé, Historia de la Dominacion, I. xxv.

mets, clothed in leather and in steel, protected by large bucklers, mounted on colossal horses, armed with swords of great length and with ponderous battle-axes; here were equal giants, clothed in skins like wild men of the woods, more rudely equipped, but more ferocious in appearance. The Moslemah saw at once that the contest was to be between weight and strength on the one hand, and dexterity and dash on the other.

The generally received account again is, that the battle lasted seven days. While there is nothing to disprove this, it will be remembered that this appears to be the stereotyped duration for battles of that early period. Some of the chroniclers say that it culminated on the Sabbath or *seventh* day, which might explain the matter; but we may be content to think that the early days were spent in manœuvring and skirmishing.[1]

The field was extended, and the forces unusually large. There were numerous partial conflicts, which were not intended to bring on at once a general battle. After such skirmishes or conflicts, the troops on both sides seem to have retired at nightfall to their encampments, with little fear of being disturbed until the morning. But at last everything was in readiness for the crisis. On the morning of the seventh day, the dawn disclosed the Moslem and the Christian hosts formed in ranks and columns, both with determined purpose to end the conflict. At a given signal, in all the dusky squad-

Partial conflicts.

[1] Guizot says, "Les deux armées passèrent une semaine l'une en face d'autre, tantôt renfermées dans leurs camps, tantôt se déployant sans s'attaquer." — *Histoire de France*, I. 178.

rons the men dismounted, and, kneeling beside their horses, invoked the aid of Allah in prayer. This reverent duty performed, the battle began with a cloud of arrows from the Moorish archers, under cover of which the flower of their cavalry swept like a hurricane upon the Frankish line. The field resounded with their favorite battle-cry, "Allah acbar," *God is victorious*; but the Christian wall of steel remained unbroken, and scattered them back like spray. Isidorus Pacensis tells us that he heard from the lips of an eye-witness, a companion of the Amir, in Arabian metaphor, that the Frankish Cavalry were chained or frozen together, — *glacialiter manent adstricti.*[1] The tall stature, the powerful arms, and, above all, the menacing immobility of the enemy, appalled and confounded them. Against the ruder Frankish infantry their charges had some success; and the Christian losses were principally in that contingent.

The real battle begins.

[1] Isidorus wrote twenty-two years after the battle, and his account must contain valuable truth, especially when he quotes, as in this instance, from an eye-witness. But parts of his work are not so trustworthy; they are in rhyme, or rather in assonant verses, and with the poetic form there is always danger of the poetic license. These are his words, "Ubi dum per septem dies utrique de pugnæ conflictu excruciant, sese postremo in aciem parant, absque dum acriter dimicant gentes septentrionales in ictu oculi ut paries immobiles, permanentes, sicut et zonâ rigoris glacialiter manent adstricta Arabes, gladio enercant." — *España Sagrada*, VIII. trat. 27, app. ii. Notas sobre la chronologia del Pacense. With regard to the metaphor, H. Martin corroborates its oriental character by stating the curious fact that at the battle of the Pyramids, in 1798, the fiery Mamelukes, when they could not break the French squares, ejaculated, "Ils ont enchaînés les uns aux autres." — *Histoire de France*, II. 204, note.

Again and again, the Moslem cavalry rallied, re-formed their ranks, and charged more furiously than before; but with no better result. Their swift and skilful attacks were too light: they were received and returned by those gigantic horsemen, mounted on equally gigantic steeds, of Norman breed, the like of which still astonish the traveller in the north of France. The long two-edged swords beat down their light guard, and caught them with terrible cut and thrust, cleaving to the saddle, or shearing the head, or passing a hand-breadth out through the body; the battle-axes crushed their heads or mutilated their bodies.

Charges of the Moslem cavalry.

The Arab-Moors still had, however, the prestige of the attacking party, and they might venture to hope that even northern proportions and northern endurance would eventually give way before their stormy and repeated attacks; that the line might be broken by successive and concerted blows; that perhaps, too, the panic on the plains of Sidonia might be repeated in Touraine. Whatever may have been the chance of such success, had they continued their energetic efforts, just then a rumor came swelling from rear to front, that Duke Eudes, with a strong force of Aquitanians and Gascons, was attacking their camp, thus at once compromising their retreat, and endangering their fondly cherished spoils.[1]

Rumors of an attack in the rear.

[1] This attack of Eudes is not found in the French Chronicles. It is an Arabian account; and, although it might have been devised to give a plausible cause for their defeat, in a military point of view it seems natural and probable. It may have been nothing more than a feint to disconcert the Moslem army.

There was no panic, in the ordinary acceptation of the word; but, with a jealous eye to their darling treasures, and to rally around their encampment, the Moslemah left their ranks in large numbers, and galloped to the rear, notwithstanding the energetic remonstrances of the Amir and his staff. Thus the martial order was disturbed, and the line of battle suddenly depleted. It was evident that Abdu-r-rahmán could not again assume the offensive; it was soon as evident that the Franks were preparing to move down upon his line. The entire aspect of affairs was changed. The opportune but unexpected moment for Charles Martel had now arrived. The Moslem attacks were to have their terrible *riposte*.

Charles moves upon their line.

He ordered a charge along his whole front. The remaining troops of Abdu-r-rahmán were soon in confusion: the Franks were upon them. They were overthrown, cut to pieces, or forced to flight. Pell-mell they left the field, and fell back upon the encampment in panic and despair. The unfortunate Amir, who had been always foremost in the fight, in this decisive moment did all in his power, with word and sword, to retrieve the fatal mistake; but nothing could now withstand the heavy moving mass. He was killed, with most of his staff and body-guard, and their bodies were trampled under the iron hoofs of the northern cavalry.

Abdu-r-rahmán is slain.

With his fall the day was irretrievably lost. In truth, it had been a fatal mistake. The attack or the feint of Duke Eudes upon the encampment had been easily repulsed by the camp guards. A little forecast,

and the detachment of a small force to strengthen these guards, would have sufficed to show the exact state of the case, and have saved the Moslem army from the greatest disaster it had ever experienced. But even this disaster was not irreparable, if they would reorganize and again prepare for battle on the morrow. Their losses had been great, but they were still superior in numbers to the Frankish host.

The sun had just set. With a prudence as commendable as his valor, Charles ordered the pursuit to cease, and awaited, with renewed confidence, what the morning should disclose. He did not for a moment doubt, however, that the enemy would still present a bold front, and that a fiercer battle was yet to be fought. His troops, not well satisfied at being restrained, rested on their arms, and nothing was done to disturb the Moslem repose. But the Moslem army had no thought of rest; they had already received the *coup-de-grâce.* When they reached the camp, the tribes began to criminate each other, and some of them even came to blows. Their leader could not be found; they did not yet know that he had fallen, but the day was lost; a curse like that of Korah was upon them. The sense of imminent peril caused them to stop their quarrel, and united them in the determination to save themselves by immediate flight.

The Moslem army in full retreat.

With the earliest streaks of the morning light, the Frankish army commenced to move forward. Pickets stole cautiously in advance, watching for the first signs of motion in the Moslem army. The tents were still there, but unbroken stillness and solitude

reigned. Still they advanced. There was neither sight nor sound of living thing; still at every moment the Franks expected to see the reinvigorated army of the Arab-Moors issue forth to repeat with desperate fury the charges of yesterday. They expected in vain. At last, to settle the question, the army of Charles moved across the plain, covered with ghastly corpses and ghastlier figures of wounded men. The advancing troops shouted to the silent camp; a flight of arrows followed the unanswered cry; the nearest tents were entered; they were empty. Then the truth broke upon the Franks that the Moslem army had, at the last, outwitted them, — that they had absconded. They had indeed been marching all night, only intent upon saving themselves behind the walls of Narbonne. They had abandoned tents, baggage, and most of their treasures which would have impeded their flight, and, with scarcely more than their horses and arms, were already far distant from the fatal field.

The Franks occupy their camp.

Once in the charmed camp, the soldiers of Charles revelled in the treasures which had ruined the Moslemah, and became, like them, infected with the greed of gold. The booty was enormous; hard-money, ingots of the precious metals, melted from jewels and shrines; precious vases, rich stuffs, subsistence stores, flocks and herds gathered and parked in the camp. Most of this booty had been taken by the Moslemah from the Aquitanians, who now had the sorrow of seeing it greedily divided among the Franks, — "the spoils of Bordeaux and of so many other cities passing from the hands of

their first spoilers into those of their ferocious auxiliaries."[1] The number of the killed and wounded on the side of the Arab-Moors was enormous, but no veritable record has been left. We do not even know accurately the force of their army before the battle. Cardonne says, with commendable qualification, "If we may believe the contemporary historians, three hundred and seventy-five thousand Arabs moistened with their blood the fields of Touraine."[2] But this exaggeration is too gross to need comment. In the words of Michelet, "The imagination of the chroniclers of the period was excited by this solemn trial of prowess between the men of the north and those of the south." Nor was it only an excited imagination that saw falsely: it was national vanity, combined with ecclesiastical prejudice, — the desire of the monkish chroniclers to magnify in every manner the victory of the Christian. It was grand, at one stroke of the pen, to consign so many enemies of the faith to everlasting flames.

Exaggeration of the chronicles.

One of the monkish historians declares that the Moslems had their wives and children and all their substance with them, as if to remain and occupy.[3] The Arabs claimed to have eighty thousand men in all upon the field. Mezerai says the Saracen army was only eighty to one hundred thousand in all; and Valois, that no women or children crossed the Pyrenees.[4]

[1] Henri Martin's Histoire de France, II. 206.

[2] Histoire de l'Afrique, I. 127.

[3] Leur fames et leurs enfants et toute leur substance aussi comme si ils dussent tousjours les habiter en France.

[4] The Marquis de St. Aubin-sur-Loire, in his "Traité de l'Opi-

The exaggeration is the more absurd, because so unnecessary; the defeat of the Arab-Moors was entire and ruinous without it; it could not magnify the true glory of the Christian triumph thus to multiply the numbers of the slain.

As might be expected, the Arabian historians say little about the battle. Condé's authority concedes the defeat, and gives the reason already mentioned for the disorder which preceded it.[1] Ibnu Khaldun accosts and dismisses the whole matter in these words: "He [Abdu-r-rahmân] arrived in Andalus in the year 113, A.H., and made war upon the Franks, with whom he had several encounters; but in the month of Ramadhan of the year 114 (October, A.D. 732), his army was cut to pieces at a spot called Baláttu-sh-shohada [the pavement of the martyrs], he himself being in the number of the slain. This disastrous battle is well known among the people of Andalus as the battle of Balátt."[2]

The statement is far more credible, and yet deserving of some scrutiny, that Charles Martel lost only fifteen hundred men in the battle. The Moslemah

nion" (Paris, 1735), cites this story among numerous examples (to which modern history could largely add) of "batailles qui paroissent incroïables," Vol. I. p. 210. It is worth mentioning that three hundred and seventy-five thousand is a stereotyped number of dead Moslemah after a battle. They lost that number, the reader will remember, at the battle of Toulouse. The chroniclers on whose faith the statement was made are, Paul the Deacon, and Anastasius the Librarian.

[1] Dominacion de los Arabes, I. xxv.

[2] The same name (see *ante*) was given to the battle of Toulouse, and is applied to many other fields on which the Moslemah were defeated: they were always martyrs for the faith.

were slain principally in the space between the original battle-field and their camp. Leaving the field of conjecture, the great historic fact remains: the problem had been solved; the trial of arms and of purposes had been decided in a single day. The great centenary of the prophet's death[1] had been celebrated by the greatest defeat of his creed and his policy.

The centenary of Mohammed's death.

The Moslem had boasted that he would conquer Gaul as he had conquered Spain; that he would march from Gaul to Italy; that he would return to the east by way of Constantinople; and that Allah should be worshipped and his prophet revered by all the nations of the European world.[2]

After a careful study of the history, I find nothing which leads me to think it possible that he could have realized his boast. But the assertion had been made, and his vaunted purpose had been defeated by the army of Charles Martel.

Much more might have been done to increase the disaster of Tours, if Charles had made a vigorous pursuit. Some writers assert that he did so, and was

[1] In June, 632.

[2] There is a tradition that when an army was sent from Kairwan to the conquest of Andalus, the Khalif had written to its commander that the conquest of Constantinople was to be made, passing first through Andalus. — AL MAKKARI, I. 80. It has been seen that Musa is said to have conceived the project of returning to the east by way of Constantinople. — IB. I. 289. The Moslems of that day had little knowledge of the geography of Europe, of the distance to be passed over, and the great obstacles to such a progress. The first abortive crusade to Palestine, three hundred years later, shows how little had been learned of these difficulties, even after so great a lapse of time.

repulsed with great loss from the siege of Narbonne.[1] There are many reasons for doubting this statement. He was quite willing to throw the burden of the subsequent defence upon Eudes and the Aquitanians, who had submitted to pay him tribute. His motley army, hastily collected to repel the invasion, could not be long kept in hand. They had found their pay in the Arab spoils, and soon separated into little bands, seeking their homes in the north, and leaving him only his usual and regular contingent of troops. And, besides, he was now far more concerned with the aspect of affairs on his northern frontier, and was ready to pass at once from an averted danger to one which still threatened. "On the one side," says Ranke, "Mohammedanism threatened to overspread Gaul and Italy; and, on the other, the ancient idolatry of Saxony and Friesland once more forced its way across the Rhine."[2] He passed rapidly with his hammer from the broken south to the still threatening north. The treaty of peace with Eudes gave the Aquitanians a breathing spell, and enabled them to confront the Moors.[3] Thus the relations of

Charles moves northward.

[1] Isidorus Pacensis makes such an assertion, but it is not supported by other historians; and he wrote when the *viva voce* accounts were confused and contradictory. He may refer to the misfortunes of the Aquitanians.

[2] History of the Reformation, 331.

[3] La Fuente, following the authority of Isidorus, says: "El famoso Carlos, llamado despues Martell, pone cerco á Narbona, pero los Ismaelitas la defienden." — *Historia de España*, III. 55, 56. I think it most probable that this refers to Eudes and the Aquitanians, as Charles could, at that time, have had little inclination to pursue the victory. The presence of the Arab-Moors was rather an advantage to Charles, as it kept Eudes in a proper condition of humility.

the Franks and Aquitanians were much changed by the battle in Touraine.

We cannot let the valiant Charles disappear from this humble record, as he must now do, without a word as to his brilliant exploits recorded by history and embalmed in stirring legends. And this is especially important, because they throw additional light upon the determined character of his victory near Tours. That triumph, so far from exhausting his resources, left him a large surplus of moral and physical power. For the time he mastered Saxony, and left there the prestige of his arms for the later achievements of his grandson Charlemagne. He proceeded to subdue Burgundy entirely: he destroyed the Duke of Frisia; he returned again at a later day to the conquest of Aquitania; when its duke became again rebellious, he occupied Bordeaux, took Arles and Marseilles; he made head against new invasions of the Saracens in Septimania, and gave them another overwhelming defeat near Narbonne, on the borders of the Berre. He was a great king in all but title, — the master and the terror of western Europe. To epitomize, his greatness consists in this: He created permanent and powerful order out of chaos; from the combination of a few German conquerors and a Romanized people of Gaulish race he produced the French nation. Thus, great and gifted as an individual, he was besides an exponential man, — the leader of a race, the initial figure of a new dynasty, the founder of a throne upon which his greater grandson was to sit; and, above all, as far as this history is concerned, the champion of Christendom against the

The true greatness of Charles Martel.

temerity of Islám. I do not give him credit for great virtues. He seems to have done all for himself and the aggrandizement of his family. His victory at Tours has caused him to be lauded as the savior of the Christian faith. But his terrible cruelties, his policy towards the church in Gaul, his rigor towards the monks, his pillage of churches and monasteries in the dominion of Eudes, in order to supply his armies, deserve the reprobation of history, even if we accept the moral standard of the age. They were, in the eyes of the ecclesiastics, deadly sins, and one of them saw in a vision the greatest hero of Christendom enduring his punishment in eternal flames.[1] Charles died in the year 741 at the age of fifty. He had ruled for a quarter of a century without the name of king, but he received the burial of a king, with great pomp, in the Abbey of St. Denis. "The substitution of the second race of Franks for the first," says Dumas, "begins with an aristocratic corpse which slides into a royal tomb."[2]

His faults and fancied punishment.

We need not follow the fortunes of the Moslem invaders at this time. Narbonne remained their principal stronghold and *point d'appui* in Gaul, from which they made incursions no longer in Aquitania, but upon the Rhone. In 755, Narbonne was recov-

[1] There is something more palpable, if not truer, "than the monk's vision. On the opening of his tomb," says Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, V. 189) "the spectators were affrighted with a smell of fire and the aspect of a horrid dragon." But, as the letter containing this statement was addressed by a Gallic synod to Louis le Germannique, the grandson of Charlemagne, we may suppose the miracle was invented for a purpose.

[2] A. Dumas, Gaule et France, 57.

ered by Pepin le Bref. Thirty-seven years afterward, it was again captured and pillaged by the Spanish Arabs, and the Christian captives taken at that time were carried to Cordova, to build, at hard labor, that wonderful mosque, which still delights the eye and satisfies the taste of the contemplative traveller. One of these unfortunate Christian prisoners has left a rude cross with an inscription scratched upon one of its thousand pillars;[1] a memory of the last Moslem success at Narbonne. The refluent wave, hurled back at Tours, moved slowly into Spain, and, settling in its long river-valleys, was fain to be content, without further hope of a northern progress. Once driven beyond the Pyrenees, the Arab-Moors could never fully forget nor recover from the terrible lesson they had received in Touraine.

[1] "The marvel, however, of the verger is a rude cross scratched upon a pillar, and, according to an inscription, by a Christian captive with his nail [a nail]. — 'Hizo el cautivo con la uña.'" — *Ford's Handbook*, I. 229. The mosque was commenced in 786.

CHAPTER II.

COMMENTS ON THE CAMPAIGN.

THE story might stop here: it is complete; the statistics are simple and few; the philosophy is, in the main, manifest. There remains, however, a question to be considered,—a question of historic judgment, upon which I express myself with some diffidence, as the opinion I have formed is not in accordance with that of most modern historians. It will be most simply stated by quoting a well-known and often repeated paragraph from the great work of Gibbon. In speaking of the battle in Touraine, he says: "A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the Rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland; the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Korán would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mo-

hammed. From such calamities was Christendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man."[1]

The rhetorical point and elegant wit of these sentences are certainly unsurpassed. They attract the eye, the ear, and the fancy; but the hypothesis they suggest will not bear, in my judgment, the ordeal of historic philosophy or even the scrutiny of common intelligence. I think it necessary to point out the errors they contain, because they give a false idea at once of the power and resources of the Arab-Moors and the condition of western Europe, and thus bear directly upon the subject of this history. The opinion thus sententiously announced by Gibbon, and based upon the grand exaggeration of the monkish chroniclers, has been generally accepted by the later historians,[2] and not critically questioned by any one.

Gibbon's errors.

Sir Edward Creasy, who collates some of these opinions in his sketch of the battle of Tours,[3] says: "The great victory won by Charles Martel . . . rescued Christendom from Islám, preserved the relics of ancient and the germs of modern civilization, and re-established the old superiority of the Indo-European over the Semitic family of mankind." Schlegel, in his philosophy of history, declares that the arm of Charles Martel delivered the Christian

Repeated by later historians.

[1] Decline and Fall, ch. lii.

[2] Eginhard, the contemporary and biographer of Charlemagne, simply says: "Charles, qui écrasa les tyrans dont l'ambition *menaçait toute la France*; qui, au moment où les Sarasins envahissaient toute la Gaule, les vainquit complètement dans deux grandes battailles, l'une en Aquitaine, auprès de la ville de Poitiers," etc. — *Vita*, ch. ii.

[3] The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World.

nations of the west from the deadly grasp of all-destroying Islám." Southey, the most historical of the modern poets, in his "Poet's Pilgrimage,"[1] says, —

> "The world hath seen the work of war's debate
> Consummated in one momentous day
> *Twice* in the course of time.
>
> "The second day was that when Martel broke
> The Mussulmen, delivering France, oppressed,
> And, in one mighty conflict, from the yoke
> Of misbelieving Mecca saved the West."

Dr. Arnold[2] considers this victory as "among the signal deliverances which for centuries have affected the happiness of mankind." The opinion of Henri Martin is expressed with so much rhetorical elegance and energy that I will not spoil it by translation: "Ce fut un des moments les plus solennels des fastes du genre humain. L'Islamisme se trouvait en face du dernier boulevard de la Chrétienté. Après les Visigoths, les Gallo-Wascons; après les Gallo-Wascon, — les Franks; *après les Frank plus rien!* ce n'étaient pas les Anglo-Saxons, isolés au fond de leur isle; ce n'étaient pas les Langobards, faibles dominateurs de l'Italie épuisée; ce n'étaient même les Gréco-Romains de l'empire de l'orient, qui pouvaient sauver l'Europe! Constantinople avait assez de peine à se sauver elle-même. Le chroniqueur contemporain, Isidor de Béjà, ne s'y trompe pas. Il appelle l'armée Franke, l'armée des Européens. Cette armée détruite, la terre était à Mahomet. . . . Le

Henri Martin.

[1] Part I. "The Journey."
[2] History of the Later Roman Commonwealth, II. 317.

sort du monde allait se jouer entre les Franks et les Arabes."[1] Only Sismondi and Michelet are disposed to question the general judgment. The latter especially is inclined to belittle the great battle. He considers the danger to the Franks from the north greater than from the south, and speaks of the Arab-Moors as a set of "brigands, whose astonishing celerity seemed to multiply them." The opinions of historians might be multiplied; but in citing these, whose authority must always be respected, we have sufficient upon which to base our inquiry.[2]

Reasons for dissenting from these views.

I venture to dissent from these concurrent judgments, and shall seek to give valid reasons for so doing. I assert that this was princi-

[1] Histoire de France, II. 203. Without breaking the continuity of the citation, I wish to contrast with the opinion of Martin that of Freeman, the distinguished historian of the Norman conquest: "Let me not for a moment depreciate the fame of so glorious an exploit. The first total defeat of the Saracens by the Christians, in a great pitched battle, was indeed an illustrious event, and it may be that Charles Martel saved Gaul from the fate of Spain. But let honor be given where honor is due, and honor is not fairly assigned when Charles is magnified as the one savior of Christendom, while Leo, the Isaurian, is forgotten. . . . The Isaurian emperor rescued the head of Christendom; the mayors of the palace rescued only one of its extremities. One bore the onslaught of the whole force of the caliphate; the other only overthrew the power of its most distant and recent province." — *Lectures on the Conquest of the Saracens*, Lect. v.

[2] Alexandre Dumas, *père*, in his "Gaule et France," a work in which he invests history with the charm of romance, makes the following parallel between their first invasion of Spain and their crowning defeat: "Ainsi l'Europe fut envahie parce qu'un petit roi, West-Goth, avait violé je ne sait quelle *Lucrèce;* et, le monde entier était Mahométan, si le fils d'une concubine ne fut venu en aide à la réligion Chrétienne."

pally not a contest of creeds, but one for territorial possession. The soil which Rome had conquered, reclaimed, and been forced to abandon, was the true ground of contention. The northern man, — large and strong, and capable of bearing winter rigors, — Vandals, Alans, Burgundians, and Goths, the first three Pagans and the last Arians, had pounced down upon it. The Franks, Catholics only in name, had come, and from their hardy hive were still coming. The southern man of Semitic race, light, hardy, active, unhurt by tropical suns, had come up to secure his share in the great partition. The contest was between northern barbarians and southern fanatics, both eager for land and spoils. The former had a world of rude but powerful fighting men behind him, already occupying the conquered lands; the latter, with a handful of Arabs and a crowd of turbulent Africans, had just secured a foothold in the Peninsula. The causes which were soon to lead to the independence of the Spanish Khalifate were already at work, and display how little of power remained beyond the Arab dominion in Spain, to the south and east. The insurrection of the Berbers immediately afterwards shows how little the Spanish Amirs could depend upon Africa for troops.

The case stated. A struggle for territory.

With these prefatory remarks, and keeping the great battle in mind, — the inadequacy of the Moslem strength, the surplus of massy resistance and colossal strength in the army of Martel, — we may proceed to a more detailed examination.

The Arab-Moors had conquered and subjected in

Spain a dynasty and a people, enervated by indolence, licentiousness, and irreligion. From the date of the battle in the plains of Sidonia, large and constant reinforcements, under the first enthusiasm, — proportionally small from Arabia and Syria, and numerous from northern Africa, — had kept open their communications with Africa and the east, and had constituted the Peninsula, with its grand wall of the Pyrenees, a Saracen citadel, a magazine of supplies, and a new and strong base of operations. There was nothing behind them to alarm or endanger; but every day's march beyond the mountains into Gaul converted their army into a movable column, more and more isolated from its base, exposed to failure of supplies, and hostile attacks in front, flank, and rear. The men of Gaul, Gallo-Romans, Aquitanians, Goths, and Franks, were of a different temper from that of the Spanish Goths; they had been for a long time constantly engaged in war, and were quite as practised in the military art as the Moslemah themselves.[1] Nor must we fail to remember that the Arab-Moors, when they moved into Gaul, left behind them and on their left flank a small but vigorous Christian state in the Asturias, which, after the battle of Covadonga, was spreading and increasing daily in coherence and power. Such are suggestions

The military argument.

[1] This is confessed by the Arabian writers. Al-karáwí, after speaking of the Andalusians as a "brave and warlike people," and the Galicians as "brave, strong, handsome, and well-made," goes on to say of the Franks that "they are a people still more formidable than the Galicians on account of the deadly wars in which they are continually engaged among themselves, their numbers, the extent and fertility of their territory, and their great resources."

of the military argument against Gibbon's hypothesis, which may be confidently commended to the military student. In the comparison of numbers, strength, and strategy, the odds were greatly in favor of the Franks.

The ethnic argument against Gibbon's hypothesis.

Again, Charles Martel was but the representative of the superior mental and physical vigor of the Franks. He was at the head of the new incursions of Germans into Gaul. His race, known in history as the Carlovingian, had, as has been already seen, conquered the sluggish kings of the Merovingian dynasty; and in their flush of victory and pride of power, they stood like a wall of granite against any southern invaders. The uncorrupted warlike German faced the Arab-Moor, who, however warlike, was not the physical equal of the Teuton. The Frank was a powerful man; his horse was colossal; his arms ponderous and crushing; he was inured to winter rigors; he was too phlegmatic to be frightened by the dash or routed by the *lelies* of the Moslemah. The Goths had been softened by inaction; the Franks were hardened by constant action. The races that conquered Rome were by no means extinct at the north. There were new hordes of the same Frankish type, ready to pour down and crush the lithe and active, but weaker, sons of the south. In everything the disparity was too great. Had the Saracens won the battle between Tours and Poitiers, northern and central Europe would have united to destroy them; and northern and central Europe were far stronger in numbers and in physical type, and in the means and appliances of war, than any force

which the Arab-Moors could array against them. These considerations present the *ethnic reason* against Gibbon's conjecture; and all history proclaims its cogency, especially the more modern history and condition of Europe.

Once more; while we may concur in the truth of the maxim — certainly valuable in war — that "Providence is on the side of the heavy battalions," we must also recognize the solemn truth in Christian ethics, — a truth so wonderfully manifested in history, — that God will protect the holy religion He has revealed to man, and that in the end "no weapon formed against it shall prosper." We have seen that the Christianity which the Moors subjected in Spain was not worthy of the name. Even that they could not destroy. It existed side by side with Islám. The faith of Gaul was comparatively purer and more practical; if it did not, in that turbulent age, control the actions, it sat in calm judgment upon the sins of chiefs and people; it drew strength from the alliance of the Carlovingian house with Gregory III. It was already a power in Europe. All the energies of the church were exerted to resist the progress of Moslem infidelity. The absurd claims of the Korán gave, by contrast, new point and force to the divine assertions of the Bible. The pretensions of Islám seemed, indeed, the very thing needed, and providentially devised, to unite Christian Europe: these pretensions consolidated a power more irresistible than the force of arms, and which could most enthusiastically subsidize arms to attain its purpose; the churchman inspired the soldier, and the soldier's weapon became the sword of the Lord.

The religious argument in theory and practice.

Gibbon speaks of the thousand miles already traversed "from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire," as an earnest of equally easy progress over another thousand, which would have taken them to "the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland." The falseness of this assertion has already been exposed in speaking of the military difficulties of the problem. When, with no clear logical connection, he goes on to say that the Rhine is "not more impassable than the Nile or the Euphrates," he relegates the comparison to an earlier period of the Mohammedan conquest, without giving it additional force. The great barrier of consolidated Christendom lay between the Arab-Moor and the Rhine; and even if they could have reached that stream, the fierce and hardy tribes dwelling upon its banks were a very different people from the oppressed and enervate races upon the Nile or the Euphrates, who had been conquered again and again, and who had scarcely raised a finger to resist their repeated conquerors. But another element must here be considered. To the Oriental people the religion of Mohammed presented a noble faith and a better destiny than any yet foreshadowed to them. The conquest of the east was easy, because it gave promise of good. Islám was a step upward, and an accessible step. It destroyed caste; it restored manhood; it bestowed wealth. It was the harbinger of civilization. To the Christian of the west it was an abomination; a *descent* from the spiritual and divine to the sensuous and human. The suggestion of Gibbon is hardly more sensible than it would be to

A thousand miles in Europe and in Asia.

compare a thousand miles of modern European travel on well-constructed railways with an equal distance of painful exploration with Livingstone or Stanley in the heart of Africa. And so, too, when he speaks of interpreting the Korán in the schools of Oxford to a circumcised people, he is greatly and purposely in error. A perusal of the Korán, and a glance at its fortunes in history, will show that it is in the main an inter-tropical plant, which has never flourished, save as a sickly exotic, in temperate and northern climes. Circumcision, although enjoined upon the Israelites as a sacred rite, had long been practised in southeastern lands on grounds of physiology and hygiene. It would be a monstrosity and an abuse in the climates of Christian Europe.[1]

A circumcised people.

His mention of the schools of Oxford contains a sarcasm at once against the University and against Christianity, which loses its point when we refer to the contemptuous opinion of the former, expressed in his autobiography,[2] and to his undisguised scorn of the latter, which is so fully displayed in his history. Thus he found a malicious pleasure in subjecting a conquered Christianity, in what had been the strongest seat of its power, to the demonstration of "the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mohammed."

[1] When Napoleon was in Egypt he convinced the Imaums that a man should be permitted to embrace Islám without being circumcised, or abandoning the use of wine. As to circumcision, he told them, "God has made us unfit for that; with respect to drinking wine, we are poor, cold people, inhabitants of the north, who could not exist without it." The doctors issued a *fetham*, removing both restrictions.

[2] Miscellaneous Works, I. 32, *et supra.*

The historic truth is, that Mohammedanism, although it has made a few individual converts here and there among nominal Christians; although it has sometimes overrun Christian territory with the soldiers of Islám, who have occupied the land, and oppressed or driven out the inhabitants,—has never caused the apostasy of a Christian nation. I have attempted thus to give the theological or religious answer to Gibbon's epigrammatic "perhaps." The weight of my argument will be estimated according to the religious views of the reader.

In bringing this chapter to a close, let us gather up the ravelled ends of the tissue. We turn again to the sonorously uttered opinion of Henri Martin, and at the outset we find him unconsciously opposing Gibbon's introduction of the Korán into Oxford. In asking who could stop the progress of the Arab-Moors, he says,—"Not the Anglo-Saxons, isolated in the depths of their island." He evidently thinks that they would have taken no part in the contest. Of this, had the contest been possible, we can by no means be sure. "The Arabian fleet" in the English Channel was but a rhetorical fancy of the great historian. In the Mediterranean, it served principally to convey troops in small bodies. They were smooth-water sailors, who had never ventured with warlike purpose beyond the Pillars of Hercules. If we may for a moment suppose Gaul to have been conquered by them, and a squadron of ships fitted out in the harbors of Picardy and Normandy, what would have been the result? The Saxon English were still in the flower of their strength;

"The Arabian fleet."

they were constantly engaged in wars, their ships were swarming upon their coasts, and their sailors were adventurous and bold. At the north they made voyages of traffic and discovery; they followed the whale for the teeth. As early as the seventh century London was frequented by ships. Saxon vessels sailed even to Rome. They had already displayed that fondness for the sea which in later times has led to the maritime supremacy of England. In Saxon periphrasis they called it the "whale's path," and the "long snake's leap." They would have scattered the fancied "Arabian fleet" like the foam on the crest of the wave.

We pass to the Lombards. If they were, in the words of Martin, "feeble dominators of exhausted Italy," they would have roused in self-defence, united themselves to the Franks, supported the Pope in such a crisis, and struck boldly for the common salvation. Indeed, the combination of European people against the Mohammedans would have been unanimous.

I bring these conjectures to a close. The ground of what may have been, that is sometimes under other circumstances available, is here neither clear nor safe for the historian. I have endeavored to maintain, and, as far as possible, to demonstrate, that although Charles Martel did paralyze the Saracens, and drive them away in the most formidable invasion they had ever made, the field of Touraine was by no means the "last boulevard" of Christendom. It is juster to assert that, north of the Pyrenees, it was the *first*. I have shown that the material for a larger conquest was lacking; that the concourse collected

Summary of the arguments.

by Abdu-r-rahmán for this invasion was the last levy *en masse* that Spain and Africa could then afford; that many myriads of northern warriors, stouter men, and equally inured to war, could have been gathered among many people, in a very short time, to oppose them; that Christianity insured union and subsidized force to beat them back; and finally, that, if they had been allowed to make some progress, they would have frozen or starved, or been eventually surrounded and caught in an angry vortex, of which many were waiting to engulf them. We have seen, in the later history, that Islám has been nowhere able, except temporarily in Spain, and thus far in Turkey, on the former seats of the Eastern Empire, to establish its faith and power on the domains of Christianity. I have endeavored to display the philosophy of its abnormal successes in the Peninsula. In Turkey, for a long time past, have been heard those retchings of weakness which betoken "the sick man," and are not the paroxysms of an intermittent disease, but the unmistakable signs of decline and death. Belying its etymology, the crescent wanes, and sheds a dimmer and dimmer light. I venture no explicit prophecy. Islám wounded Christendom at the extremities: it could advance no farther; the serpent has bitten the heel. The bruise of his head will complete the scriptural prediction, and, from recent manifestations, will not tarry. Fear of the ambition of Russia has been for some time the only obstacle to a European coalition to bring about this result.

The "sick man" grows weaker.

I have dwelt somewhat at length upon the defeat of the Arab-Moors in Touraine, because I think its

philosophy has been misconceived by many former historians, and because a clear understanding of it is necessary to a just and complete estimate of the Arabian conquest of Spain. Thus, what I have said is no digression from my proper theme. If I have not settled the historic question, I hope it has been opened to a new and fair discussion.

CHAPTER III.

DISORDERS IN THE AMIRATE.

I NOW proceed, in the chronological order, to consider the succession and the deeds of the remaining Amirs who held temporary and partial sway under the Walis of Africa, and with the sanction of the Khalifs, until the downfall of the dynasty of the Ommyades, and the accession of the Abbasides at Damascus. We shall see that this change of dynasty, with the troubles which preceded it, was all that was wanting to enable the Spanish Arabs to throw off the yoke of Damascus, and establish an independent state in the Peninsula; loyal, indeed, to Islám and the Prophet, but rejecting the secular claims which had thus far been successfully asserted by the imperial vicars at the single seat of power, to the injury of good government and firm rule in this the most remote province of their theocratic empire.

Upon the death of Abdu-r-rahmán Al-Ghafeki in the great battle of Tours, his troops were greatly depressed, and they sent a courier to Obeida, the Wali of Africa, with an urgent request that he would appoint a proper commander without delay. In answer to their solicitation, he sent 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan Al Fehri, with

Al Fehri appointed Amir by the Wali of Africa.

a small contingent of troops, to take command of the army in Spain, and to act as provisional governor until the will of the Khalif should be known. Whether he was ever confirmed by the supreme authority is doubtful,[1] but, as provisional Amir, he seems to have entered at once and with great spirit upon the arduous task he had undertaken. He was past the prime of life, but, under hair whitened by age, he preserved the vigorous heart of youth.[2]

For two years — from November, 732, to October, 734 — his chief concern was to repair the disasters of the invasion of France, and to establish the Moslem power north of the Pyrenees. He rekindled the ardor of the troops by his fiery words and by his brave example. He told them "that even the ambassador of God himself had taken his greatest pride in the fact that he was 'a son of the sword,' and had ever found his most welcome repose beneath the standards that waved over his head on the field of battle." "War," he said, "was the ladder of Paradise."[3]

He led them again and again into Aquitania, but without the hoped-for success; the Christians recovered many of the places they had lost; and at last, in an attempted invasion, in 734, through the defiles of Gascony, he encountered those rude mountaineers, who fought at great advantage; they blocked him in

[1] Condé says (Dominacion de los Arabes, I. ch. xxvi.), that he was confirmed by the Khalif Hishem Ibn Abdu-l-malek, and that the Khalif "wrote himself to Abdu-l-malek Al Fehri, exhorting him to avenge the sacrificed lives of his Moslemah."

[2] "Bajo una cabellera emblanquecida por los años conservaba el vigoroso corazon de un joven." — La Fuente, *Historia General de España,* III. 71.

[3] La Fuente, Historia de España, III. 71.

the passes, hurled him from the heights, and threw him back in confusion on the line of the Ebro. The ambition of northern advance was greatly cooled by such shocks.

Disorders in Africa prevented the sending, in due time and in adequate numbers, of reinforcements, which were indispensable to his further efforts; his plans were checked by the jealousy of factions in Spain; reports of his ill-success went to Africa and Damascus, accompanied by the statement that he was a man of cruel propensities and great rigor;[1] and that he had been born under an evil star.

For these combined reasons, he was ignominiously deposed from the Amirate, at the instance of his troops, by the Khalif Hisham, and the authority was conferred upon Okbah Ibnu-l-hejáj As-selúlí, by 'Obeydullah, the Wali of Africa, with the sanction of the Khalif, in 735.

Is deposed and succeeded by Okbah.

The difficulties which had surrounded the deposed Amir still remained to confront his successor, but Okbah was better able to meet them. He was the brother of the Wali of Africa, and might count upon a support which had been refused to Abdu-l-malek. After his appointment, he was for some time detained in Africa in quelling the constant insurrections of the Berbers and Jews against the Arabs of pure blood; but when partial quiet had been restored there, he crossed over into Spain, and set to work with vigor in his new

[1] The authority used by Condé allows that the task was almost impossible of execution, and brings the Moslem fatalism to bear with sonorous effect. "He does but labor in vain who is struggling against the eternal decrees of God." — *Dominacion de los Arabes*, I. ch. xxvi.

administration. He showed himself at once eminently and inflexibly just. He deposed unworthy governors; he imprisoned those who had extorted tribute unjustly from Moslem or Christian; he equalized the tributes among the towns and provinces, abolishing all odious distinctions which had grown up since the conquest. In every city and considerable town he placed kadis, or judges, to hear causes and to arbitrate in honest disagreements. He sent mounted guards in all directions to pursue the numerous bands of robbers which infested the country. He built mosques and appointed preachers; he established schools for children, and endowed them from the public treasury.[1]

Nor did these numerous and important concerns delay for a moment the cherished plan of every true Moslem heart, — the invasion of France, and avenging the martyrs of Islám who had fallen beneath the Christian sword. After a careful inquiry into the charges brought against Abdu-l-malek, he was convinced of his general innocence, and he appointed him to a cavalry command on the northern frontier.

Okbah crosses the Pyrenees and strengthens Narbonne.

He crossed the Pyrenees with a large force, and strengthened Narbonne, making it a citadel and a stronghold, from which the Moslemah might sally forth and devastate the surrounding country.

There is no reason to doubt that had he not been annoyed by the quarrels both in Spain and Africa between the Berbers and the Arabs, and by the

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I. ch. xxvii. Cardonne, Histoire de l'Afrique, etc., I. 132.

factions of the Arabian tribes against each other, he would have rendered his name and rule illustrious in the annals of the period. Never had the Spanish Arabs seen such vigor, system, and justice in the administration. But in the year 734, while he was organizing for an invasion into Aquitania, he received despatches from the new Wali of Africa, announcing a new rising of the Berbers in Mauritania,[1] and ordering him at once to leave Spain in the most competent hands and repair to the scene of this disorder. This was exceedingly unfortunate for his government, but he obeyed at once, leaving the command to Abdu-l-malek, the lately-deposed governor, who thus appears a second time in the list of Amirs.

Goes to Africa, leaving Abdu-l-malek again in command.

The *émeute* in Africa was soon communicated to Spain, and Abdu-l-malek found himself again called upon to deal with insurrection at home. He acted with vigor, and crushed the rising at the North of the factious mountaineers, easily stirred into revolt and ready to fight on any quarrel. But in the South he was not so successful.

At this juncture, Okbah, who was beginning to deal vigorously with the problem in Africa, received orders to repair to Spain with his forces.

Upon his arrival there, he found reason to blame many of the insubordinate governors, and new cause to praise the labors and self-devotion of Abdu-l-malek. He wrote letters to the Khalif in his favor, and furnished him with money and additional troops for

[1] This rising was due to the deposition of the Wali of Africa, Abdu-r-rahmán al Fahemi.

the defence of the northern frontier. Then, falling sick at Cordova, his mind overwhelmed with a sea of troubles, Okbah died in the same year, just when his judgment and valor were most needed in the Peninsula.[1] Nothing could have been so unfortunate.

Tumults in Spain.

The condition of Spain at this period may be not inappositely compared to a seething caldron, filled with heterogeneous elements, in a violent state of ebullition, surrounded with fire and reeking with smoke. Another noxious ingredient was now to be added. It came in the likeness of assistance: it was but a new force of destruction.

The Barbary people were determined to resist the Arabian sway, and had already, under their chosen leader, defeated the Arabian army on the plains of Tunis, in the year 743.

And in Africa.

The governor of Africa, Kolthum Al-Kusheyrí, at once marched with all his available troops to the scene of action to reverse this defeat, and to compel them to submit. Then came the most portentous rising that had been seen in that region since the days of Musa Ibn Nosseyr. Every tribe sent a strong contingent; and, at the meeting-

[1] In these statistics of the actions of Okbah, I have followed the Arabian authorities of Condé, whose account is clear and connected. Ibn Khaldun, quoted by Al Makkari, gives a very different statement. He says: "In the year 121, Abdu-l-malek rose against Okbah, deposed him from his government, and put him to death, or, according to others, expelled him from the country." This is repeated by Ibn Bashkúwál. Gayangos is inclined to accept these statements; but the relationship of Okbah with the Wali of Africa, and the general turbulence in Africa and Spain, make his comings and goings extremely probable. Al-hobhi says his death was occasioned by poison, given at the instance of Abdu-l-malek.

place on the sandy banks of the river Masfa, "these innumerable hordes looked not unlike immense flights of locusts."[1] Mauritania was swarming with indigenous people.

The adverse army, composed chiefly of troops from Arabia and Syria, from Egypt and Barca, with a contingent, however, of loyal Berbers, made haste to give them battle. The Arabian and Syrian forces were commanded by a general named Tha'lebah Al-Ameli; those of Egypt and Barca, by a nephew of Kolthum, — Balj Ibn Beshr Al-Kusheyrí. Their combined forces are called in the history "the Syrian army."

The battle is portrayed in lurid colors by the Arabian chronicler.[2] The encounter was so fierce that "those who fought there did scarcely seem to be men who were joined in battle, but rather resembled fierce lions and tigers, who were furiously tearing each other to pieces." Fate was against the Arabian general. His men were put to flight, he was himself wounded, and he and his nephew Balj only contrived to escape and shut themselves up in the castle of Ceuta.[3] There they were for some time, with the remnant of their army, closely besieged by the Berbers, and were only saved from starvation by stores and provisions smuggled into the port from Spain, through individual liberality.

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I. ch. xxix.

[2] Ib.

[3] Al Makkari, II. 40. Abdu-l-malek refused to assist in extricating them, for fear they would come to Spain and conspire against him.

This success of the Berbers in Africa was now to play a double part in Spain, to the great injury of the Arabians. For, as soon as their brethren in the Peninsula heard of the victory, they were inflamed with the desire, like them, to cast off the Arabian yoke. They elected a leader, and, rallying under his standard, were soon ready to advance against Abdu-l-malek. In many partial conflicts, they were successful, until at length he discerned their purpose to besiege him in Cordova, and take possession of the country.

Thus threatened, without hope of succor in Spain, Abdu-l-malek had recourse to the very men whom he had feared. In the new emergency, he wrote, not without reluctance, to Balj Ibn Beshr and the remnant of his Syrian troops to come over and aid him, "thinking that they would gladly embrace any opportunity to revenge their past defeats on the Berbers of Andalus."[1]

Abdu-l-malek sends for the Syrian troops.

Balj was but too ready to come. His uncle, Kolthum, had died at Ceuta, and, escaping from his unfortunate situation, Balj crossed the strait and joined his brethren in Spain. The combined forces of the Amir, divided into two corps, commanded by the sons of Abdu-l-malek, marched against the Berbers and defeated them with great slaughter. According to an agreement made beforehand, when the assistance had been rendered, and Balj and his men should be rewarded from the spoils, they were to return to Africa, and leave Abdu-l-malek in sole and

[1] Al Makkari, II. 41.

undisputed possession.[1] Such agreements are always broken.

They had now found a more promising field for their ambition. It was evident that the Amirate was a prize within reach of any adventurous leader. No interference was to be feared from Damascus. Even the power of the Wali of Africa seemed to be despised. The most popular military leader in Spain found the government of Spain within his grasp; not indeed to be held by a certain and permanent tenure, since the strong man armed was sure to be dispossessed when a stronger than he should rise against him and take his spoils.[2] Balj was ambitious; his men elated with success, and spoiled by booty. The agreement was broken; and a party, comprising all who had cause of complaint against the ruling Amir, placed themselves under the command of Balj, and declared the deposition of Abdu-l-malek. The revolt gained strength rapidly; the adherents of the unfortunate Amir fell off, until, at length, those who ostensibly remained delivered him up to his enemies.

The Amirate contended for by rival chieftains.

Nothing could be more clearly illustrative of the chaos into which public affairs had fallen than the

[1] Cardonne, Histoire de l'Afrique, etc., I. 136.

[2] The relaxation of the Khalif's authority was in this way: At first the generals commanding in Al Magreb or Western Africa were either appointed by the Khalif or immediately sanctioned by him. Then the appointment lay in the Wali of Egypt, with the sanction of the Khalif. When the Moslemah had penetrated into Spain, a Wali of Africa was appointed besides the Wali of Egypt; and thus we have of men in power the Amir of Spain, the Wali of Africa, the Wali of Egypt, and the Khalif. The chain was too long, the links too numerous, for strength. See Ib.

fate, and the manner of the fate, of the Amir. He was ninety years old, tall and muscular, "resembling a young ostrich." His enemies, maddened with success, raged and howled around him, charging him with his misdemeanors, and the Syrian troops, especially, taunted him with his refusal to supply their wants when besieged at Ceuta. They were inventive in the ignominy and cruelty with which they led him to execution. He was crucified, with a hog on his right hand and a dog on his left.

But retribution was swift. The sons of the murdered Amir soon succeeded in raising a force among a people with some remnants of loyalty, and disgusted with the ingenious cruelty of the Syrian leader. They marched against him; and, although they were defeated in a hard-fought battle, Balj fell, mortally wounded. This took place in the year 742.

Upon the spot where Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan was crucified (Mosslab Ibn Khattan — the place of crucifixion of Khattan), his son, Umeyyah, afterwards caused a mosque to be erected (Mesjed Ummeyah), and it remained during the Moslem sway in Spain, — a monument of filial affection, of faction, and of revenge.

The victory of the Syrians, notwithstanding the death of their leader, placed the power in their hands, and they at once elected as Amir Tha'lebah, called Al-jodhámí, who had come over with Balj. For ten months he ruled without receiving the Khalif's sanction; and, when that was reluctantly given, he retained the power for fourteen months longer. But the same causes were at work

Tha'lebah elected Amir by the troops.

to overthrow his administration. Being himself of the tribe of Yemen, he exhibited a partiality for his own tribe, which soon led the first settlers to conspire with the Berbers against him. So vigorous were their movements, that he was obliged to fly before them, and to shut himself up in Merida. There, thinking him in their hands, and depending on their numbers and prestige, they lay, without order or discipline, in the plains around that city, expecting to starve him into capitulation.

On the eve of a great festival, and while they were making preparations for keeping it in the usual manner,[1] Tha'lebah, taking advantage of their want of vigilance, sallied out from the city at the head of his army, defeated and routed them, killing great numbers; and then, joined by other detachments, which had been awaiting his signal, he marched to Cordova unimpeded, and taking with him the almost incredible number of ten thousand prisoners, captured by himself and the different divisions of the army in all parts of the country.

It was on Thursday that he encamped outside the walls of Cordova and besieged the place; and the next day — "the day of assembly" — it was his purpose to crown his thanksgiving with the execution of all his captives; but, just as this fearful purpose was about to be carried out, banners of an unexpected cavalcade were descried fluttering in the

[1] Gayangos gathers, from the expression in the Arabic, that this was a pagan festivity, — a thing not improbable, as most of the Berbers adhered still to their pagan rites. — AL MAKKARI, II. 412, note 17.

distance. It proved to be Abú-l-Khattár Al Kelbi, the new Amir appointed by the Wali of Africa, who, with a thousand horse, had pushed forward in advance of his main body, and had arrived just in time to save ten thousand lives, and win favor by doing so.

The coming of Al Kelbi.

He had been nominated as a competent person "to re-establish public order," and especially to reconcile the differences between the several Arabian tribes, and between the men of Eastern origin and the Berbers.[1]

Tha'lebah at once swore allegiance to him, and turned the prisoners over to his mercy. Abú-l-Khattár released them immediately, permitting them the option of returning to their homes or of going over to Barbary. The troops of Tha'lebah joined the force of the new Amir, while their general was content to fall back upon a military command under him. All parties, for the moment weary of the confusion and conflict, were ready to lay down their arms, and listen to his gracious words of conciliation. He seemed the very man for the emergency. He treated all with kindness; and in his actions, both as governor and general, he showed himself to be brave, judicious, and liberal.

From the time of the first occupation of Spain by the Arab-Moors, Cordova had been the most favorite spot in the whole territory, and the city and its comarca had now become so crowded that they no longer presented sufficient space, especially for the fierce and jealous tribes which, originally collected

[1] Al Makkari, II. 45.

there with harmony of purpose, had become domiciled there, and were each claiming as against the others. In order to remedy this evil, Abú-l-Khattár proceeded to spread them more evenly over the Moslem domain; and this was an excellent expedient.

Portions of the people from Arabia and Syria, selected according to their affinities, he sent to Elbira, — the Roman Illiberis, — near the site of the present city of Granada; and they, in memory of their old home, and from a resemblance in the beauties of nature at the West and the East, called it *Sham*, the Arabic name of Damascus. The men of Emesa he quartered at Seville, which thus received the name *Hems.* The people of Kenesrin (Quinsarina) were placed around Jaen, those of Alurdan at Malaga. The Philistines, or settlers from Palestine, he fixed in the country around Xeres and Medina Sidonia; those from Palmyra were sent to occupy Murcia, and the Egyptians were domiciled in the farther land on the eastern coast, called the land of Tadmir.[1] This seemed at the moment a happy expedient. It gave to all in equal division large and rich lands, and it removed the contending tribes from the immediate temptation to quarrel. Thus he left

He makes a new assignment of territory.

[1] "The Berbers continued for some time to lead a nomadic life, shifting their quarters from one end of the peninsula to the other, and taking their wives and children with them, even when engaged in military expeditions." — GAYANGOS (AL MAKKARI, II. 412, note 18). "This occupation of the land of Tadmir was in contravention of the treaty between Theodomir and Abdu-l-'aziz, which was meant to be of perpetual force. Abú-l-Khattár declared, however, that such treaties did not bind the successors of that Amir." — CONDÉ, *Dominacion de los Arabes,* I., part 2, ch. xxxiii.

the earlier settlers and their descendants undisturbed; and, to supply the needed revenue to these newly quartered people, he granted them one-third of the income from the lands cultivated by the slaves of the Goths.[1]

At first it seemed that order was fully and permanently restored; but the miserable condition of affairs was not to be healed, even by such wise remedies. The feebleness of the Khalif's authority extended to that of his Amir. The generals were impatient of a restraint that had little sanction. Faction was loud around the very palace of the ruler. The tribes nearest together still conspired against each other, and the tribe of Yemen intrigued for favor with the Amir, because he was of that tribe. An incident occurred, which, in the dramatic recital of the historian, is vividly descriptive of the condition of affairs and the manners of the people.

The chief of the tribe of Kenanah was a man named As-samil, whose history was associated with one of the striking events in the rise of Mohammedanism. He was the grandson of Xami, one of the assassins of Hosein, the son of Ali. When that murderous deed was done, Xami had fled to Africa, and his family had gone with the progress of conquest into Spain. As-samil was ignorant, but jealous and vindictive, and had a precedent in his family for vengeance in high places; but he possessed the art of

[1] Condé thus translates the "Agemies." There can be little doubt that what had been the servile class during the Gothic dominion continued as tillers of the soil and menial laborers. These were indigenous tribes and the Hispano-Romans.

leading the multitude, and was an important personage in the events now about to be related.

Tribal disputes. The humiliation of As-samil.

On one occasion, a dispute arose between one of the Yemenis, a cousin of the Amir, and a man of the tribe of Kenanah; and, although the latter proved his case clearly, Abú-l-Khattár, influenced by his relationship, decided in favor of his cousin. The injured man appealed to his chief, As-samil, who, espousing his quarrel with great warmth, went without delay to see the Amir, and reproached him with intemperate language for his injustice. The Amir retorted; and, when violently answered by As-samil, he directed the guards to put him out of the palace. This led to a scuffle. As-samil received several blows on his neck. In the effort to expel him from the palace, his turban was thrown on one side of his head; and, as he left the door in that disordered condition, he was asked by a by-stander, "What is the matter with thy turban? By Allah, it is all on one side!" "Thou art right, man," he answered; "but I trust my people will soon put it right for me."[1]

That night he assembled his adherents at his house, and, telling them, in inflamed language, the insult he had received, he swore by Allah that his revenge would not be complete until he should drive Abú-l-Khattár from the government. He lost no time in the pursuit of his vengeance. The same night he left Cordova, and, proceeding to Ecija, he sought aid of

[1] Al Makkari, II. 46. "By Allah!" said As-samil, "my vengeance shall not be satisfied with anything short of taking the command from the hands of this Arab." — *Ib.* 47.

Abú Attá, the most influential Arabian there. Thence he marched with an increased force to Moron, to join hands with Thuábah Al-jodhamí, who, though a Yemeni, had received some affront at the hands of the Amir, and was quite ready to conspire against him. Thus, as the issue of a private quarrel, the Beni Modhar were arrayed against the Yemenis, and a powerful revolt was made against the constituted authority.

Abú-l-Khattár was already in the field, and the two armies met in the plain of Sidonia, near the bank of the Guadalete. The rebellion was successful: the Amir was beaten and taken prisoner. The first counsel of the victorious generals was to put him to death; but they at last concluded to take him in irons to Cordova, and confine him in one of its strong towers. This was in April or May of the year 745. Once more, legal authority seemed at an end; and the Amir could only prepare himself for that death which had only been for a brief season delayed.

But his friends, the friends of order, the men of Yemen, and the tribes jealous of the Beni Modhar, were not slow to rise. One night a small body of picked troops, cavalry and infantry, stormed the tower, massacred the guards, and, liberating the distinguished captive, marched rapidly with him to the west.

The Amir is released from his prison.

Preparations were now rapidly made on both sides to renew the conflict, and put an end to the controversy. As-samil, with a wise judgment, made good use of the fact that Thuábah was of the tribe of Yemen, although fighting on the side of the Modharites.

Again the two armies met, when, in the silence of the night, a loud voice was heard coming from the ranks of the Beni Modhar, and addressed to the opposing force. The substance of the words uttered was, that there was no cause for further fighting; that Abú-l-Khattár had been spared when he was in their hands; that, if they wanted a Yemeni for Amir, Thuábah was one, who would protect their interests and the interests of all; and that the proclamation was made, not for fear of the result, but in the interests of peace, and to stay the flow of noble blood. "By Allah," said many of the listening Yemenis, "the man is right!" and, when the morning dawned, it was discovered that large numbers, who had no inclination for the fight, had left the army of the unfortunate Amir, and were already many miles away from the field.

The triumphant Modharites at once gave the chief authority to Thuábah, and wrote to the Wali of Africa to confirm the election, which was done; and thus for a brief space quiet seemed restored.

The fate of Abú-l-Khattar is left in obscurity, but all agree that he met a violent death in 746, lest his claims should again disturb the realm.

The victory and elevation of Thuábah might have settled the vexed question, but, after a short rule of less than two years, he died, and then the election of a new chief caused new turbulence.[1]

In an assembly of the principal generals, represent-

[1] "Il périt, quelques mois après avoir pris possession du gouvernement, par la main des rebelles." — CARDONNE, *Histoire de l'Afrique, &c.*, I. 145.

ing the army and both parties, it was agreed that the most equitable plan would be that one of the great tribes should elect a man who should rule for one year, and that the other should then choose an Amir for the same period. The Modharites gained the first choice, and they elected Yúsuf al Fehri, — a man of prominence and power, astute and skilful, and knowing how to manage men. He was, further, a man who, by lineage, by natural gifts, and by cunning, was better qualified to take the government than any other contestants. Of the Kabilah of the Koreish and of the pure Arabian blood of the Beni Modhar, he was a native of Kairwan, which gave him influence with the Africans. He was, moreover, the inheritor of renown, for he was the descendant[1] of that Okbah who had founded Kairwan, and who had made his fame terrible in the regions watered by the Sus. Perhaps the ease with which he was elected was chiefly due to the influence of As-samil, who seemed desirous of figuring as a king-maker rather than as a king, with the hope of retaining power. But king-makers first or last come to grief.

The election of Yúsuf al Fehri.

For a brief period all the conflicting parties seemed satisfied; discontented governors of provinces, who had been intriguing for power with the various tribes, ceased their machinations; the partial claims of Arabians, Syrians, and Egyptians were set at rest; and, when the good effects of this temporary appointment reached the ears of the Khalif Meruan, his con-

[1] The great-grandson of that Okbah, whose fiery words, as he rode to his saddle-girths in the Atlantic, were remembered and repeated by the Moslemah.

firmation was not delayed.[1] This sanction of the Khalif of the house of Ummeyah, however, was not much more than an idle form. The dynasty of the Beni Ummeyah at Damascus was tottering to its fall; the black banner of the Abbasides was already flaunting defiance, and the Khalif only ratified an appointment which he was powerless to reverse, and which depended little upon his sanction.

Yúsuf was fifty-seven years old when he became governor for one year; but he was full of vigor and ambition; and, when the year came to a close, he and his party broke the agreement, which was to give the new choice to the Yemenis, and refused to abandon the authority. Cordova became a stronghold, and when the men of Yemen congregated at Shekundah, near that city, rather to take counsel in the emergency than to attack the town, the party of Yúsuf made a night attack, and killed the greater part of them.

His ambitious schemes.

There seemed now no obstacle to the permanent authority of the Amir; if the sky was dark in any quarter, it was in the direction of Damascus. The bond between Amir and Khalif was very weak; it seemed best to break it entirely. Up to this time there had been something more than the shadow of authority; and, besides the Amir proper, there had been an Amir of the Sea, whose duty it was

[1] This is the statement of Condé, and seems probable. Ibnu Hayyan, quoted by Al Makkari (II. 54), says: "He ruled as master of Andalus, without acknowledging any superior, since his nomination did not in any way emanate from the Khalif, but merely from the troops." The Khalif may, notwithstanding, have confirmed him. See the note of Gayangos, Al Makkari, ii. 416.

to see that the line of communication was kept open between Spain, Africa, and Syria; and the post had been held by Ibn Amru, the great-grandson of the man who had carried the standard of the Prophet in the battle of Bedr. Yúsuf suppressed the office, and gave to Ibn Amru instead the government of Seville;[1] thus the connection thus far maintained with the Khalifs in Spain was broken; for good or evil, the Peninsula was independent of the Khalifate, in reality, if not yet in name.

The armistice of the factions was, however, for all this only a temporary truce; the fires were burning in too many places at once to be easily trodden out. Yúsuf, the last of the Amirs, who held sway for nine years and nine months, was during the whole period engaged in quelling insurrections, in which service indeed he displayed so much skill and vigor as constantly to demand our praise.

His power was resisted by the Moslem governor of Narbonne, that Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Alkamah who had given to Balj his mortal wound, and who was so renowned for his personal valor, great physical strength, and feats of arms, that he was called by pre-eminence the *knight champion of Andalus.*

He had made all his preparations to attack the Amir, when he was put to death by his own men, and his head sent to Yúsuf, as the most acceptable present.

Then a portentous revolt rose in and around Beja, under the auspices of 'Orwah Ibnu-l-walid; in this the Christians took part with the Moslem insurgents.

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I. ch. xxxvi.

Numbers from all parts of the territory flocked to this new standard : they advanced upon Seville and stormed it ; but the Amir advanced to meet them, defeated and routed them, and killed their leader.

A similar rising took place under Amir Al 'Abdarí at Algesiras ; but it was soon crushed by Yúsuf, and its chief was compelled to reside under the eye of the Amir at Cordova.[1]

The rumors which were now constantly reaching Spain of the impotence of the reigning dynasty at Damascus, and the successes of the Bení Abbas, led to an insurrection of a different nature. An Arabian chief named Al-habab Az-zahrí, gathering around him a number of troops, declared in favor of the Abbasides, and at once marched to besiege Saragossa, which was held for Yúsuf by As-samil. The besieged governor applied to the Amir for aid ; but Yúsuf, who had been offended by As-samil, refused the assistance ; and had it not been for the tribe of Kays, who marched without orders, As-samil would have been at once overpowered. As it was, he was only relieved sufficiently to be able to retreat without loss ; and Al-habab afterwards entered the city ; but he had not been long in possession when, as we shall see hereafter, Yúsuf marched against him, recaptured the town, and put the insurgent leader to death[2]

The rebellion of Az-zahrí.

Besides these exhibitions of judgment and valor, the administrative labors of Yúsuf give us a clue at

[1] He was afterwards beheaded in 755. Al Makkari, II. 54.

[2] Al Makkari, II. 55. For all the insurrections the reader is referred to Al Makkari.

once to his character and his success. He visited all parts of his Amirate, administering justice and punishing extortion, and obtaining the necessary knowledge for a strict and vigorous government. He restored the military roads leading in all directions from Cordova; he built and repaired bridges at the public expense. He had surveys of the townships made, and, for facility of government, he divided the whole territory by marked geographical lines into five great provinces, which formed the basis of later political divisions, and displayed his right to rule:[1] —

Yúsuf's divisions of territory.

I. ANDALUSIA, corresponding to the ancient Bœtica, and comprising, besides the valley of the Guadalquiver, the territory between it and the Guadiana; and on the east extending to a line touching the Mediterranean between Almeria and Carthagena. The chief cities were Cordova, Seville, Malaga, Carmona, Ecija, Medina Sidonia, Jaen, Assuna, and Granada.

II. TOLEDO, extending from the eastern slope of the mountains of Cordova northward to the upper Duero, including Segovia, and eastward to the sea, to include Carthagena and Valencia. The other chief cities were Toledo, Murcia, Lorca, Orihuela, Denia, Alicante, and Guadalajara.

III. MERIDA included all the territory north and west of Toledo and Andalusia, with what is now known as Portugal and Galicia. The chief towns were Merida, Beja (Badajos), Lisbon, Astorga, and Salamanca.

[1] Under the Goths there had been six.

IV. SARAGOSSA, the ancient Celtiberia, spread eastward from the sources of the Tagus, including the valley of the Ebro to the Mediterranean; it was bounded on the north by the Pyrenees, and on the west by the Basque Mountains. It numbered among its cities Saragossa, Huesca, Lerida, Tarragona, Tortosa, and Barcelona.

It will be remembered that the Christian kingdom in the northwest comprised the country of the Asturias and a portion of Galicia, and was already encroaching upon the territory placed by Yúsuf in the province of Merida.

V. NARBONNE, the fifth and last province, included the country in and around Narbonne; its northern boundary fluctuated with the successes or disasters of the Moslemah, and had to be laboriously maintained against the people of Afranj.

This division of Yúsuf gave to each province navigable rivers and a long line of sea-coast, and seems at once judicious and equitable. Over each he placed a competent governor in his own interests.

But the real danger to Yúsuf's administration was to come from an unsuspected direction; it was neither the ambition of generals or governors, the turbulence of a disaffected people, nor the power of the Beni Abbas, which was to overthrow him; he was to be struck by the last arrow from the quiver of the exhausted Ommeyades. Overthrown at Damascus, they were sending a vigorous shoot to be planted in Spain.

Unsuspected dangers.

In the year 756, he had gone to Arragon to put down the insurrection, already referred to, of Al-habáb

Az-zahrí, and had been as usual successful. He had taken numerous prisoners, whose lives he had solemnly promised to spare; but, either from necessity or cruelty, he had broken his promise. He was just entering his tent, encamped at Guadarrama, and was resting after witnessing their execution, when a courier arrived, at full speed of his horse, bearing a letter from his son, Abdu-r-rahmán, whom he had left in command at Cordova. It contained astonishing and perplexing intelligence: "A youth named Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu-'áwiyah, had lately landed on the shores occupied by the Syrian settlers [the shores south of Granada], and had been immediately proclaimed Amir of Spain by the adherents and partisans of Meruan, who had flocked to him from all parts."[1] "He rose trembling with rage, and writhing like a trampled snake."[2]

A youth named Abdu-r-rahmán.

This despatch sounded the knell of Yúsuf's hopes The very atmosphere was full of disaffection: as the news spread, the Amir's men began to desert their ranks; and by the next morning his army had dwindled down to his personal friends and *maulis*, and the single tribe of Kays. He hurried back to Toledo, to take counsel of As-samil. What should be done; temporize, fight, or submit at once to the new rule? The advice of As-samil was that they should march

[1] Al Makkari, II. 67. Condé says the bearer of a first despatch was As-samil himself, who said, when he handed it to Yúsuf, "Thine empire is at end, my lord!" It was while they were conferring upon this intelligence that the courier from Cordova appeared. — *Dominacion de los Arabes, etc.*, I. part ii. ch. iv.

[2] Al Makkari, II. 67.

without a moment's halt with their combined forces to attack the invader before he could gather new strength. This was especially important, because, as the newcomer was a Yemenite, the people of that tribe would rally round him, owing to the hatred they bore to the Beni Modhar, to whom both Yúsuf and As-samil belonged. The Amir was dazed by the prospect, and could decide at once upon neither of these plans; and, when still vacillating in purpose, he reached Cordova from the north, "the youth named Abdu-r-rahmán" was approaching with a constantly increasing force from Granada. The days of the provisional Amirate were at an end: the cable that bound Spain to Damascus had been cut. It should be said that, suspicious of trouble from the East, Yúsuf had acknowledged the authority of the Abbasides, but entirely for the moral effect of union with those in power.

I have greatly abridged this account of the actions of the later Amirs, for many reasons. If we attempt to give details, we are confronted with conflicting statements, — the great outlines being, indeed, the same, but the *minutiæ* very different. To trace the numerous causes which kept the Peninsula in a turmoil during this period would be of little interest, were it possible; but it is not possible. We have a confused noise of fighting in many quarters at the same time; blows and counter-blows, rebellions put down, renewed, again and again; Moslem faith, falser than Punic faith; cruel executions, heads cut off and embalmed; the victor of to-day crucified to-morrow; nothing gained to the cause of order and progress, but always a steady loss.

First appointment of Amirs.

At first, the appointment of the Amirs by the Khalifs was of a military character, — they were invading generals occupying a conquered territory. Then, when the struggle was ended, the Amirs combined with the military government that of civil administration. Later still, they were virtually viceroys, surrounded by the pomp and circumstance of a monarch's court, but still ruling for the Khalif, who could only sanction their appointment, and receive what revenues they chose to send him. The turbulence of the times made the sway of any Amir of short duration; and, that authority might not be wanting, what we may call *drum-head* elections were made by the army, which received little additional force by the confirmation of the Khalif. Usurpers soon began to use either form of sanction as it might be most convenient. When the authority of the Khalif became a nullity, many claims were set forth and arrayed against each other. The first settlers — the conquerors and their families — advanced a prescriptive right to power; the Arabian tribes set up their hostile banners; the Berbers claimed the right of propinquity; the Syrians asserted the prestige of Damascus; composition was tried in vain; then, as in the case of the last Amir, the government degenerated into a cruel autocracy.

And even when the downfall of the Ommeyades at Damascus was announced, no one for a moment looked to the new dynasty of the Abbasides with either loyalty or fear. If ever in a nation's history a new order was demanded; a monarch who should rule by right and without foreign control; it was now in the

history of the Moslems in Spain. And the monarch had come.

It was the story so often repeated in history, and repeating itself to-day, of a province, removed by distance from moral or military control, the inhabitants of which had acquired new habits and lost old traditions which had served to maintain loyalty, and which, by the inexorable logic of events, could not continue to form part of a dissolving empire. The philosophy of the independence of Moslem Spain is repeated in the establishment of the United States of America, which "had become a great nation in the forests they were sent to inhabit," while yet nominally belonging to Great Britain; in the South American republics and Mexico, and in the efforts of the Cuban insurgents to wrest the Queen of the Antilles from the Spanish grasp. Would that parent nations would learn the historic lesson, and spare treasure and blood in fighting against the inevitable decree!

Philosophy of the separation of Spain from the East.

CHAPTER IV.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE OMMEYADES AT DAMASCUS.

THE clue of our history leads us back for a brief space to the East, to consider the condition of affairs at Damascus, culminating, as they were about to do, in a historic event which is of surpassing importance, and giving record to a story which, in its clear historic connections, contains more of romance and more of pathos than all others which cluster around the always romantic and often pathetic history of the Arabians in Spain. The change of dynasty at Damascus resulted in the establishment of an independent Mohammedan empire in Europe: an empire which, while it acknowledged the Khalif as the religious successor of the Prophet, discarded his civil supremacy; an empire which, apparently a violent and impertinent assault upon Christian civilization, took deep root and flourished for centuries, and educated Christian Europe in all that was known of literature and science during the period justly known as the Dark Ages in the modern history of Europe, — dark throughout all the continent except in the Peninsula.[1] And it presents, besides, the curious coun-

Back to Damascus.

[1] The wonderful gifts of the Arabians to European civilization will be enumerated in the closing chapters of this history, when, in the "dialectic" language, the brilliance of Moslem culture "burnt

terbalance in the great scale of heavenly justice, — of a dynasty utterly annihilated in the East, appearing, in the very day of that destruction, halcyon-like, in the West, and developing with astonishing vigor from the tender shoot of the torn and uprooted vine which had been so rudely transplanted from Syria into Spain.

Amid the luxuries and splendors of Damascus, the Khalifs of the house of Ummeyah had become degenerate, and less able from year to year to govern even the people by whom they were immediately surrounded, and among whom were jealous rival factions as old as the first contest of claims between Abu Bekr and Ali. The distant provinces, which in the marvellous spread of the faith had become numerous, held still more lightly to their allegiance. Such, we have seen, was the case with Spain. There were, indeed, still living, men whose fathers had entered Andalus with Tarik and Musa; but a generation of Moslemah had grown up since the conquest, to whom Spain, not Syria nor Arabia, was fatherland. All alike looked indeed with veneration to the cities of Mohammed as holy shrines for the pilgrim, and to Damascus as the seat of God's vicegerent in the custody of the faith. But in matters of government and administration they felt the thrills of a new nationality, which had little or nothing in common with the East; which felt its life in every limb, and would not be controlled.

Degeneracy of the Beni-Ummeyah at Damascus.

And this feeling was greatly encouraged and strengthened by the weakness of that distant gov-

a hole in the night" which enshrouded the West and seemed to be without promise of a dawn.

ernment; in view of this, the right to independence implied the duty to achieve it.

Meruan falls into disfavor.

From the vigor and renown of the first Muawiyah, the founder of the dynasty, and of the first Walid, under whose banners the Moslemah had occupied Spain, the Khalifate had reached a state of imbecility under the last representative of the house, Meruan, who was a sensualist, an infidel, and a scoffer. He was called *Al jadi* because he held the doctrine of the Aljadites, who declared that the Koran and Destiny were the inventions of men, — sad heresy for the Prince of Believers and the successor of the Prophet.[1] He was nicknamed *Hemar al Gjazirah*, the Mesopotamian ass.[2] He appears but a little less abject when brought into the company of his immediate predecessors, and into the light of that wretched period. Walid II., who became Khalif in 743, ruled less than a year, and his assassination was but the fearful recompense of his loose, drunken, and dishonest life.[3]

His successor, Yezid III., is called, in the Latin translation of Abulfeda, *decurtator*, or the *curtailer*. He alienated the troops and the people by an ill-advised reduction of pay and emoluments,[4] which led to rebellion, from the results of which he escaped by

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I. ch. xxxviii.

[2] Abulfeda, Annales Moslemici, I. 139.

[3] "Caussa exitii erat vita scurrilibus nugis fœda, et voluptatibus diffluens inhonestæ vini compotationes." — ABULFEDA, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 132.

[4] "Quod copiis decimus ab intercessore indultas ademit et stipendia veterem ad modulum, qui Heschamo principe obtinebat, reduxit." — *Ib.* I. 133.

happily dying of the plague, after a reign of five months and ten days.

He was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim, whose tenure was from the first so doubtful that the annalist does not know whether to admit his name into the list of Khalifs. He has, indeed, the benefit of the doubt, and is counted as the thirteenth and penultimate sovereign of that dynasty;[1] but he was generally called the Amír of Damascus, and not Khalif; and enjoyed the precarious authority of his dubious position, according to some writers, for four months, and according to others for but seventy days, in the year 744.

Meruan Ibn Mohammed Al-jadi, the second of that name, had for some time aspired to the supreme power, and now, collecting without difficulty a large force, he marched against the army of Ibrahim. A battle was fought between Meruan and Suleyman, the son of Hisham and the general of Ibrahim, in which the former was entirely successful: he proceeded without opposition to Damascus, and was saluted as Khalif, Ibrahim himself, and Suleyman Ibn Hisham, with his brothers and all his people, swearing allegiance to him without protest or demur.[2]

[1] "At illi dignitas adeo vacillabat ut per vices modo Amir ol mumenine, modo mero nomine amiri [i.e. of Damascus], salutaretur." — ABULFEDA, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 134.

[2] This is noteworthy, for, with the doubtful exception of Hasan, who offered to Muawiyah the throne upon which he never sat, no Khalif had been deposed. Abulfeda says: "Illuc ad eum missis primum legatis Ibrahim, jam privatus et latitans, et ejus quondam dux, Solaiman Heschami filius veniam commissorum spiritusque securitatem deprecantur, promissaque sui copiam ipsi ambo faciunt et dominum agnoscunt: Solaiman quoque, cum fratribus et tota gente sua, qui omnes Marwano sacramentum dixerunt." — *Ib.* I. 135.

But this state of things could not last very long. The house of Ummeyah had now numbered fourteen Khalifs, from Muawiyah I. in 661 to this Meruan in 744, and had occupied the seat of power for nearly ninety years. They had long found patient but constant rivals in the family of the Beni Alabas, who descended from Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed and of Ali, and who, if lineage were any claim, were more entitled to the Khalifate than the reigning house, because Abbas was the second son of Abdu-l-Motalleb, the grandfather of both.

At the time of the violent accession of Meruan, and the deposition of Ibrahim, the chief of this house was Abdu'-l-'abbas Abdullah, whose after career was to win for him the title of *As-seffah*, — the shedder of blood.[1] But if he was cruel, he was crafty and clever. For six years he laid his plans and made his preparations, not around Damascus, but in the distant regions of Khorassan. Rumors of rebellion in that quarter reached the court of Meruan, but he closed his ears and eyes to the danger, and thus failed in the promptitude and energy which alone could have enabled him to withstand the rising flood.[2] Meanwhile the fame and ambition of the Abbasides were becoming patent, while the name of the Ommeyades was steadily sinking into a contempt which found

The appearance of Abdullah the Blood-shedder.

[1] "Seu crudelis, vel sanguinarius." — ABULFEDA, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 139.

[2] "Ann. CXXIX. (qui cœpit A. C. 746, die 21 Septem.), palam inceperant Al Abbasidas, quod ad eum diem clam fecerant per suos pararios ambire Chorasanicos, et ad afferendum suæ genti debitum chalifatum invitare." — *Ib.* I. 136.

vent in execrations and portentous menaces [1] all over the empire of the Khalif.

But Meruan's governor in Khorassan, Nasr Ibn Eyer, was loyal to his trust. He did all in his power to quiet, and then to thwart, the insurgents; and, at last, finding that they increased daily in strength, he sent to Meruan a poetical epistle, informing him of the increasing numbers and treasures of his enemies, and warning him to strike before the opposition should become too formidable to be overthrown. Among the memorable and well-known verses preserved by tradition [2] are those in which, in the form of parable, the writer sees beneath the ashes bright sparks, ready to burst into flame, unless at once extinguished by prudent hands; and the fuel should be dead bodies and severed heads. "Would that I could discern," says the writer, "whether the Ommeyades will be vigilant or will sleep!" [3]

The greatest hope of Meruan was in this loyal general, and he did now rouse himself to meet the issue. Just as the rebellion was about to burst forth, Nasr

[1] "Ubique igitur celebrari per Chorasanam nomen al Abbasidorum, at Omajjadarum horrori et exsecratione esse." — ABULFEDA, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 137.

[2] Abulfeda says: "Poetæ nescio cujus versus, et notus in vulgum et memorabiles." — *Ib.* I. 137.

[3] "Video sub cineribus micantes igniculos carbonum, qui parum abest quin luculentas in flammas erumpant.
Quos, nisi prudentes exstinguant, habebunt pabulum truncos obtruncatorum et amputata sparsaque capita.
Malo huic celeriter et mature non succurri cernens stupeo, et ipse penes medico: utinam scirem, vigilentne Ommajjadæ an dormiant!"

Ib. I. 137.

Ibn Eyer most unfortunately died, and left the fated Khalif helpless, by thus placing an insurgent province in the hands of the Abbasides, who had only been kept in check by the loyal skill of the Khalif's general.

The death of the loyal Nasr Ibn Eyer.

Nor was this all. Doubtful of the allegiance or of the skill of the Wali of Egypt, Ibn Sali, Meruan had deposed him, and replaced him by one of his most gifted generals and loyal friends, — Abdullah Ibn Magbara, — who would watch and defeat the intrigues of the Abbasides in that province. To accumulate disasters, it was just at this juncture that Abdullah also died and left Egypt to the machinations of the children of Abbas.

Nor was the Khalif better represented in the government of Africa. There the authority had been assumed, without his sanction, by Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habib;[1] and, unable to oppose him, Meruan was fain to confirm him in that government.

As we have already seen, the condition of things in Spain was similar, or even worse, and the irregular appointment of Yúsuf al Fehri had been sanctioned by the Khalif, probably because he was powerless to reverse it.[2] It is true that the condition of things in Spain had less to do than that of affairs in the East with the impending danger to the Khalifate.

The truth is, that in a day, as it were, in many

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I. ch. xxxviii.

[2] Ib. He says: "The Khalif also appointed and confirmed the election of Yúsuf al Fehri as Amir of Spain, but whether because he really had confidence in that governor, or that he dissembled his displeasure because he had not power to prevent what had been done, hath not appeared."

parts of the empire disaffection was rife; in some, rebellion was active. The Mohammedan world, stretching its vast claims from the Atlantic to India, cared little for the name, personality, or family of the man who sat in the Khalif's seat at Damascus. It was declared and believed throughout its borders, that the government had been badly administered, and that the dynasty had lost its prestige. All were ready for a change. Even those provincial governors who, under ordinary circumstances, would have been loyal to the Beni Ummeyah, now felt themselves powerless to check the torrent of revolution; and by the instinct of self-preservation, they sided with the rebellion, and gave up their towns to the victorious rebel "before he had found time to demand their surrender."

The time had now come. Abdu'-l-'Abbas Abdullah, the chief of the Abbasides, was proclaimed Khalif at Kufah, by his wizir and chief adviser, Abu Salmah;[1] and, collecting his adherents into an army which soon grew large, he confided the command to his uncle and namesake, Abdullah.

The Blood-shedder proclaimed Khalif.

Filled with powerful forebodings, the ill-fated Meruan marched to meet the swelling host; and the white standard of the Ommeyades was for the first time confronted by the black banner of the children of

[1] Gayangos says (Al Makkari, II. 417, note 2), that the name of the wizir was Hafss Ibn Suleyman al Hallal, and that his *kunyá* was Abu Salmah, and not Abu Moslemah, as given by Condé. He was also called Waziru-diu Mohammed (the support of the religion of Mohammed), and seems to have been the *Deus ex machina* of the usurpation.

Abbas, — colors, says the Spanish historian, signifying the irreconcilable enmity of the two factions.[1]

The assumption of the Khalifate by Abdullah was, as has been said, at Kufah, — then an important town on one of the small tributaries of the Euphrates : the short campaign which was to decide the question was to begin in the valley of that famous stream.

After several partial actions, the two armies met at Turab, near Musul, in the last days of January, in the year 750.[2] The contest was fierce in the extreme ;[3] but it resulted in the retreat of Meruan, although his army was superior in numbers. The retreat became a rout ; thirty thousand men — probably an exaggeration — are said to have fallen in the battle and the pursuit ; and they were so rapidly followed by the Abbasides to the Euphrates, that large numbers are said to have been drowned in their attempts to cross that stream. Among these died Ibrahim, the deposed Khalif, who, true to his oath, had joined the army of Meruan. The Arabian chronicler ejaculates : " O mystery of the eternal decrees of

The battle at Turab.

[1] " En cuyos colores se significaba la irreconciliable enemistad de los dos bandos." — LA FUENTE, *Historia de España*, III. 92.

[2] For the detailed movements, see Abulfeda, Annales Moslemici.

[3] " Initio atrox fuit ibi commissum prœlium." — *Ib.* I. 140. The conflict took place on the banks of the Zub, a tributary stream which empties into the Tigris, twenty-five miles south of Musul. The army of Meruan was encamped on one bank of the river, one hundred and twenty thousand strong ; that of the Abbasides, one hundred thousand, or less, on the other. Meruan built a bridge and crossed to give battle. He was beaten, and driven across : many were lost in the rapid crossing, among whom was Ibrahim. For these and other details, see Abulfeda, I. 140.

heaven! Ibrahim dies fighting to preserve the empire to him by whom he had himself been deposed!"[1]

The flight of Meruan with the remnant of his army, after twenty days or more, took him through towns mentioned by the annalist, but which have now faded from the map, until he reached Emesa.[2] Here he found a few adherents; but the mass of people, when they discovered the signals of the approaching conquerors, displayed a great eagerness for his departure. From Emesa he hastened to Damascus, but such was the confusion of opinions in that capital, that he could not feel safe, especially as the victorious army of Abdullah was marching thither. With constantly diminishing forces, he wandered southward into Palestine. There he was overtaken by the usurping Khalif, at a place called Alardania,[3] or by a detachment, — perhaps the vanguard. He turned at bay, and, with the courage of despair, he repulsed the enemy, and broke away from his toils. This so angered the new Khalif that he suddenly relieved his uncle, Abdullah, from the command, and confided it to an active and tireless general named Saleh. The pursuit was not for a moment discontinued by this change of commanders; the hounded Meruan pressed southward

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I. ch. xxxviii. "Qui chalifatu olim Marwano cesserat coactus, et tunc sub ejus signis pugnabat." — Abulfeda, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 140.

[2] "Post viginti et aliquot moræ dies, cum gente sua et equitatu omni virium suarum reliquiis, Emessam trepidus auffugiebat. . . . Emesa porro Damascum properabat, et Damasco tandem in Palestinam." — *Ib.* Emesa is the modern Hems or Homs of the Arabic.

[3] So says Condé (Dominacion de los Arabes, I. ch. xxxviii.). I have been unable to find such a place.

into Egypt, with the few adherents who were willing to follow his ruined fortunes. He had reached a country palace near Saida called Busyr, or Busyr Koridas, where he was overtaken by his relentless foe. In despair he took refuge in a Christian church, after his remaining troops had been defeated in a final action, and there he was killed with a spear thrust by an unknown hand.[1] Soon after, a servile creature, who had been in former days a vender of pomegranates at Kufah, ran in and cut off his head,[2] and sent it to Saleh for the Khalif.

Meruan killed.

The triumph of Saleh was complete: he had accomplished what his predecessor had failed to do. He ordered the head, which was to be the ghastly messenger of its own disaster, to be embalmed that it might be sent to the Khalif. In the process of embalming, the tongue had been taken out, and as it lay upon the ground, it was snatched up and carried away by a cat,[3] which had been watching the operation, and was speedily devoured.

When Saleh sent the embalmed head to Abdullah As-seffah, he varied his despatch with verses, in which he declares this incident as marking the retribution visited by Allah upon the impieties so often uttered by the tongue of Meruan: "God has subdued Egypt, O

[1] "Busir dictum, nescio quis in ecclesia, quæ ibi loci Christianis erat, hasta confodit." — ABULFEDA, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 140.

[2] "Alius autem aliquis vilis homo, qui olim al Cufæ malis granatis vendendis quæstum fecerat accurrens, . . . caput amputat." — *Ib.*

[3] Abulfeda (Annales Moslemici, I. 141) recounts it thus: "Contigit, ut exsectam ejus linguam *felis* furto ablatam devoraret." Condé says it was a *ferret* or weasel.

children of Abbas, to your conquering arms, and has destroyed the vile Al-jadi. A cat has worried his tongue. Behold God's justice; thus he takes vengeance upon those who corrupt the faith."[1]

Thus ended a dynasty which had hardly in any reign deserved its prosperity, but which had obstinately and diligently at the last earned its destruction. With the simpler logic of fatalism, the Arabian historian exclaims: "The unfortunate can never be secure, even though he climb to the nests of eagles, and conceal himself on the summits of inaccessible rocks; neither shall he avoid the arrow of the powerful destiny, although he should rise to the stars."[2] Meruan was, however, the best of the later Khalifs of the Beni Ummeyah, and has received the encomiums of Abulfeda, who likewise attributes his downfall to destiny. He was, in the opinion of that historian, prudent and brave, and, in another period than that in which "the eternal law of fate" had decreed the extinction of the Ommeyades, would have been numbered among the noblest and most illustrious of the princes of his people. "But, against fate, prudence and fortitude contend in vain."[3]

[1] "Subegit Deus, O Abbasidæ, victricibus vestris armis Ægyptum et scelestum Gjaditam perdidit.
Linguam ejus vexavit felis. En justum Dei judicium. Sic ille fidei corruptores ulciscitur."

[2] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I. ch. xxxviii.

[3] "Vir erat fortis et prudens, quem si contigisset alio tempore dominari non illo, quo lex æterna fati stirpem et potestatem Omajjadarum exscindere decreverat, fuisset profecto suæ gentis inter optimos illustrissimosque principes. At contra fatum frustra pugnat fortitudo juxta et prudentia." — *Annales Moslemici*, I. 141.

When the head of his rival was brought into the presence of Abdullah As-seffah at Kufah, where he still was, he did not dissemble his joy; he felt that he was Khalif indeed, and his family after him. In a fervor of devotion, he fell prostrate upon the earth, and gave heartfelt thanks to Allah for his sanguinary success.[1]

His thirst for blood might have been satiated by the rivers which had thus been flowing at the touch of his sword, but his fears rose as he thought that there remained those who would thenceforth live but for revenge. If the former dynasty could not revive in its strength, it could punish. He at first proscribed, and then soon got rid of the sons of Meruan. The elder, Obeydullah, fled to Ethiopia, and was there killed by the natives.[2] The other son, Abdullah, was captured and delivered to the governor of Palestine, who sent him, as the most welcome gift, to the Khalif. He was soon afterwards put to death.

Abdullah's cruelty.

The wives and daughters of Meruan found their place of exile in a distant province, where, with unceasing tears and constant lamentations, they bewailed a fate rendered far more poignant by the remembrance of former joys and vanished splendor.[3]

[1] "Ad hujus capitis conspectum procidebat humi, Deumque gratus adorabat, os Saffah, tum al Cufæ agens." — ABULFEDA, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 141.

[2] "At ibi quoque armis infestis excepti fuerunt, ut Obaidollah quidem caderat; alter autem fratrum, Abdollah, ægre cum suorum aliquibus evaderet." — *Ib.*

[3] "In uberes lacrymas acutasque lamentationes eruperunt, procul splendore gaudiisque pristinis." — *Ib.* I. 141.

The downfall of the Ommeyades and the succession of the Abbasides present a historic philosophy in many respects similar to the rise of the Carlovingians and the deposition of the Merovingian dynasty in the Frankish history; and the reign of the sons of Abbas, like that of Charlemagne, was soon to shed great lustre upon the world by their wonderful accomplishments in arts, science, and letters. The change from the Bení Ummeyah to the Bení Abbas, however bloody, was to be greatly to the benefit of the Moslem world. Bloody indeed it was to be: not content with the death of the sons of Meruan, the new Khalif began to feel that he was not secure in his seat of power, as long as a drop of the blood of Ummeyah flowed in living veins, and so he determined to destroy every one around whom the adherents of the Ommeyades could rally. There were at his court two young men of rank and talents, held in high repute by all, and up to this time by the Khalif himself. They were cousins, and both grandsons of the Khalif Hishem, the tenth sovereign of the line of Ummeyah. One of them, Suleyman, had commanded the army of Ibrahim against the usurpation of Meruan. The other was Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Muawiyah. They were of gentle manners and unblemished character; they had even taken sides with Abdullah As-seffah against Meruan, whom they had regarded as a usurper. But they had the blood of Ummeyah in their veins, and, through their grandfather Hishem, might have claims to the Khalifate. They must die.[1] Entirely unsuspicious of the Khalif's

The rationale of the change.

[1] He is said to have been specially incited to this by the poetical

purpose, Suleyman was arrested and killed, although he had been promised security and protection; but Abdu-r-rahmán happened to be fortunately absent when the edict was issued, and, being warned by his friends, succeeded in making his escape:

Abdu-r-rahmán escapes.

"Attolens humero famamque, et fata nepotum."[1]

For, in the words of the Arabian historian, "on the tablets reserved for the eternal decrees it was written that all the desire of the Beni-Alabas, and all their zeal for the destruction of the Beni-Ommeyas, should be proved in vain. Despite their utmost endeavors to destroy and uproot the family which they had despoiled of the Khalifate, and driven from the sovereignty of the Mosleman empire, a fruitful branch of that illustrious trunk had nevertheless been preserved, and, fixed in the West, was there to take new root and flourish."[2]

Before, however, proceeding to follow the fortunes of Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'awiyah, we have yet to record the further cruelties of the Khalif, which confirmed his title of the *Blood-shedder*.

His guilty suspicions were not yet allayed by the murder of the sons of Meruan and the removal of Suleyman. He next proceeded against all the

instigations of a malicious courtier named Sadif, the last verse of whose poem is this: —

"Tu ergo pone jam gladium, et sume scuticam, eamque tamdiu exerce, donec huic solo, quod omnes calcamus, Ommajjadarum nemo inambulet." — ABULFEDA, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 192.

[1] Virgilii Æneidos, Lib. VIII. 731.

[2] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I., part ii., ch. i.

principal adherents of the Ommeyan line, and, in order to accomplish his purpose, he had recourse to a barbarous stratagem. Ninety of these cavaliers had given in their adherence, and taken refuge with his uncle Abdullah, who seems to have been the governor of Damascus. They regarded all danger at an end, and were loyal to the new dynasty. On the receipt of secret orders from the Khalif, Abdullah invited these gentlemen to a banquet, which they might regard as the sign and seal of their being taken into favor. They came in all security and full of hope.[1] The feast was spread, and they were about to partake of it; when, as was not unusual at the banquets of the great, a poet entered to sing salutatory verses. It was Schabil, a mauli, of the family of Hisham.[2] As he chanted, the festive mood of the guests was suddenly clouded with misgivings, which soon changed to a terrible fear. He began by vaunting the power and the success of the new dynasty of Abbas; he placed then in strong contrast the ever-accursed brood of false Ummeyah, the sons of Abdu-l-Xamsi. "Let every branch perish; and, if any live who would uphold the line, let them, too, perish. God has abased them; why, then, should not man join in God's work and destroy them?" In the peroration of his poetical harangue, he presents to Abdullah the

The banquet of blood.

[1] "Nonaginta fere hujus gentis viros ad se vocaverat, et venerant omnes securi plenique bonæ spei." — ABULFEDA, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 142.

[2] "Positis jam dapibus, Schabl accedit, Abdellahi filius, libertus Haschemidarum." — *Ib.*

argumentum ad vindictam. He tells him to remember the cruelties of the Ommeyades, — the fate of Huseyn, ancestor of As-seffah, who had been put to death by Yezid, the second Khalif of that line; of Zeyd, whose body had been fastened to a stake by the Khalif Hisham, and left exposed during his reign; of As-seffah's brother, who had been killed by the Ommeyades.[1]

Although the scenes in this bloody drama had all been arranged beforehand, Abdullah acted skilfully the part of a man who was wrought to fury by the frenzied appeal. He quivered with well-dissembled anger, and gave a signal. At this, the guards who surrounded the apartment rushed in upon the guests and beat them to death with clubs or tent-poles.[2] The last act of the tragedy was more fiendish still. The tables were removed, leathern mats or carpets were spread upon the dead and the writhing bodies of the victims, and the viands placed upon these. The remaining guests then ate their dinner with a greedy appetite upon these undulating tables of quivering humanity. The groans of those who were long in dying furnished pleasant music for their repast.[3]

The table of quivering bodies.

But this climax of cruelty seemed yet to need a

[1] "Memento crudeliter occisorum el Hosaini, et Zaidi et confessoris ad latus el Mehrasi sepulti,
Cæsique, qui in Harran æternum considet, peregrino solo, perpetuaque oblivione damnatus."
ABULFEDA, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 142.

[2] "Quibus in rabiem actus Abdollah jubet Omajjadas longis fustibus aut contis (qualibus effulciri tentoria solent) contundi." — *Ib.*

[3] "Prostratis instrati tapetes scortei, quibus impositæ dapes et continuatum convivium inter flebiles gemitus et suspiriis mixtos singultos miserorum sub ipsis lancibus lente expirantium." — *Ib.*

capping. From the living it passed to the dead. The tombs of the Ommeyan Khalifs at Damascus were broken open. The bones of Mu'awiyah, Yezid, and Abdu-l-malek were thrown out. The body of Hisham, which yet retained a human semblance,[1] was first crucified, that it might be derided by the multitude. Then all the remains were burned, and the ashes scattered to the wind.

Scenes of similar violence were enacted at Bosrah by Suleyman, the brother of Abdullah in blood and in sin. Wherever the slightest consanguinity or adherence to the Ommeyades could be traced, those who bore it were hunted down and destroyed, and their bodies left to fatten the dogs of the settlements or the jackals of the open country. It seemed that no precaution had been neglected to insure the extinction of the race.

But the fury and the purpose of the Khalif were to be defeated by the escape of one man. Fate or Allah had decreed that the noblest and most dangerous representative of the Beni Ummeyah should evade the destroyer,[2] and carry the dynasty into Spain, then ready for independence.

[1] "Quod integer inveniretur." — ABULFEDA, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 142.

[2] There is a story (Al Makkari, II. 75) that, at the birth of Abdu-r-rahmán, it had been predicted that he would be the avenger of his family, and that his grandfather, Hisham, was at first troubled by the prophecy. But his uncle, Moslemah, allayed the jealousy, and "from that time," said Abdu-r-rahmán, "my grandfather always treated me with the greatest kindness and distinction." The existence of such a prophecy, if known to the usurping Khalif, would partially account for his relentless pursuit of the fugitive prince.

CHAPTER V.

THE WEARY WANDERINGS OF A PRINCE IN DISGUISE.

THE only scion of the fated line of the Ommeyades, as we have seen, was absent from Damascus when the order for his assassination had been issued.[1] As soon as he received friendly warning of the Khalif's purpose, he secreted a few jewels and a little money, and, taking some of his immediate family and two faithful servants, Bedr and Salím, he fled for his life. Well mounted, the little party travelled by rude and unfrequented pathways, shunning all towns which he knew or feared to be in the possession of the Abbasides, and not deeming himself even temporarily secure until he had reached a distant hamlet, situated near a dense forest on the bank of the Euphrates.

Abdu-r-rahmán is warned and escapes.

As soon as it was known that he had escaped, the spies of the grand wizir, Abu Salmah, were everywhere sent upon his track, and the acknowledged supremacy of the new Khalif throughout most of the Mohammedan world rendered it almost impossible

[1] "What rendered As-seffah particularly implacable against Abdu-r-rahmán was, that his father, Mu'awiyah, on his death-bed, had intrusted him to his grandfather, the Khalif Hisham, who designed him as his successor, and who allotted him the revenues of Andalus for his maintenance." — AL MAKKARI, II. 92.

that he should escape. A minute description of his person was sent to the governors of even the most distant provinces, with instructions that he should be searched for and apprehended ; and his appearance was such that it was difficult for him to evade even a cursory inspection. He was just twenty years old, and, unlike his Arabian brethren, he had a fair complexion and a beaming blue eye.

Ibnu Hayyan relates a portion of his story in his own words. One day, while he was sitting in his tent, sheltered from the rain, his little son, four years of age, came running in, crying so violently that he could not for a time tell him the cause of his tears. Abdu-r-rahmán rushed out to discover it, and found the whole village in commotion, for the black banner of the Abbasides had been descried marching upon it with a considerable force.[1] Collecting his remaining money and jewels, he started off on foot with his child and his younger brother, a lad of thirteen, and ran rapidly to place the river between himself and his pursuers. He had hardly left the village before his tent was surrounded, and the village thoroughly searched. This done, his pursuers were soon upon his traces ; and the detective force arrived at the Euphrates when the fugitives had half crossed it by swimming ; Abdu-r-rahmán himself supporting his son, and Bedr aiding his brother.

Swims across the Euphrates in sight of his pursuers.

The pursuers shouted to them from the river bank to come back, and promised that if they did so they should receive no harm. The unfortunate brother,

[1] Al Makkari, II. 59.

whose strength was giving way, believing them, turned back in spite of the remonstrances of Abdu-r-rahmán, and succeeded in reaching the shore; and, when Abdu-r-rahmán reached the opposite bank, he saw that he was immediately killed and his head carried off.[1] This lent wings to his flight.

He determined to make his way into Egypt, where he expected to meet his sisters; and, to effect this without discovery, he wandered westward through desert tracts. He was the companion of wandering Bedouins and roving shepherds, partaking of chance and scanty fare, sleeping lightly for fear of surprise, and, with the early morning, bridling his horse and summoning his few attendants, that they might seek some new and safer spot. Thus he reached Egypt, and wandered through it, still westward, for he remembered that the governor of Barca, Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habib al Fehri, had owed his fortunes and his position to the special favor of the house of Ummeyah. There, then, he might hope for protection. He entered the province of Barca full of hope; but he found himself sadly mistaken, for Ibn Habib, like the other officials, moved by self-interest, had given a ready allegiance to the new dynasty, and now not only sent out emissaries to apprehend him, but had warned all the authorities in his province to be on the watch for him.

The stories of his hair-breadth escapes in Barca are numerous, and at the least suggestive, if we may doubt their particulars. According to one of these, he was once actually in the hands

Takes shelter in Barca.

[1] Al Makkari, II. 60.

of Ibn Habib, and could expect nothing but immediate execution. Before proceeding to this extremity, however, the superstitious governor consulted a Jewish astrologer, who had prophesied that Abdu-r-rahmán should reign in Andalus, as to the identity and the future fortunes of the disguised youth who had been brought before him. He answered the description indeed; and the governor, feeling sure that he was the man, had said, "By thy life, this is the very youth mentioned in thy prophecy: he must die." The answer of the Jew saved his life, as it placed Ibn Habib in a dilemma. "If thou kill him, he is not the person intended; if, on the contrary, thou spare his life, he must conquer and reign." The question was settled by the release of Abdu-r-rahmán.[1]

Another and more likely story is that, while living in disguise at one of the tent-villages of Barca, where he was hospitably sheltered by one of the chiefs, Abu Korrah Wánesus, suddenly a band of the Abbasides surrounded the tent, and were about to search it, when the wife of the chief, Tekfah, concealed him under her clothes, and thus deceived his pursuers.[2]

He remained in the province of Barca for about five years, but he did not anywhere disclose himself. He went by the name of Giafar Almansur; but, exile

[1] Al Makkari, II. 61.

[2] "Abdu-r-rahmán never forgot the signal service he received on this occasion; for, when he became king of Andalus, he invited Wánesus and his wife to Cordova, and treated them kindly, admitting them to his privacy, and conferring on them all sorts of honors and distinctions. He gave Tekfah leave to visit his palace at all hours, and enter his harem whenever she chose." — AL MAKKARI, II. 62.

and fugitive as he was, he won upon all men by his engaging appearance and gentle manners, and caused them to speculate, and shrewdly suspect, that they were entertaining a prince in disguise. On one occasion, the Aduar, or village of tents, in which he was sojourning, was thrown into confusion by the appearance of a body of horse in the service of Ibn Habib, who had tracked him to this hiding-place, after so protracted a delay.

The hospitable tribe at once knew that he was probably the fugitive for whom they were seeking; and, hastily concealing him, they contrived to put the pursuers on a false scent. Such a person, they said, was among their tribe, but was unfortunately absent at that moment. He had gone with several other young men to a certain mountain valley on a lion hunt, and the party would not return until the following night.[1] The eager pursuers set out for the valley they had named. The hostile force being thus misdirected, Abdu-r-rahmán, with six devoted adherents, pushed rapidly westward, away from immediate pursuit, to encounter new hardships and dangers and to fulfil his brilliant destiny.

His pursuers on a false scent.

Between Barca and Western Africa, the Great Desert sends out a promontory of sand to the Mediterranean. Through tracts peopled only by beasts of prey, across these unsheltered plains of scorching ground, unblessed by a sprig of living verdure, the little band journeyed, until at length, rising to the table-lands of the Atlas, after many a weary day and night of vigil, they reached Tahart, the principal

Journeys westward.

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I., part ii., ch. i.

settlement in the Algarve Media, and about four days' journey southeast from Telemsen.[1]

At Tahart, which was the chief seat of the Beni Rustam, his reception was all that he could desire, and far more than he could have expected. The principal sheik entertained him at his house; and, as soon as the intelligence of this distinguished and mysterious arrival was spread abroad, the other sheiks came to offer him service.

In that locality, he remembered, there had settled an Arabian tribe, the Nefezah, now known as one of the Zenetes, to which his mother, Raha, had belonged;[2] and he might reasonably hope that the tie of consanguinity would insure the kind assistance which he so much needed. His most ardent desires were fully realized. Making his headquarters at Tahart, he spent his time in visiting among the Berber encampments, and everywhere he received assurances of a generous and full protection.

Arrives at Tahart.

The time had come when he felt authorized to disclose his name and rank to his mother's relatives, and to inform them of his schemes for the future. Immediately they paid him homage, and promised him such assistance as they were in condition to afford.

What had seemed before visionary in the extreme,

[1] The modern town on or near the site of Tahart is Toogoort, within the southern limit of Algeria. La Fuente says (Historia de España, III. 95) that Tarik, the first conqueror of Spain, was born at Tahart. This is doubtful. It is certain, however, that it was the birthplace, in our day, of the famous Abdel-Kader.

[2] His wanderings and sojourns become rather confused, probably by reason of his so constantly changing his quarters, and keeping nothing but an oral record.

now appeared feasible and foreordained. They all knew by constant reports the condition of things in Spain. The power of the Khalifs was gone forever. Rival tribes had exhausted and fatigued the people with their wars. Ambitious generals were using every sort of stratagem to climb into power. The people were forced to take sides in quarrels which could give them no benefit in return. Towns lay in smoking ruins; everywhere were violence and exactions; and, to cap the climax of misery, a famine had been lately ravaging the country, already so devastated by war.

Even to the Berber tribes, so far removed from this theatre of commotion, the questions were significant, — "Why not establish an independent empire in Andalus? Who should be its sovereign but Abdu-r-rahmán, the illustrious heir of the Ommeyan house, persecuted by the Abbasides, and miraculously preserved, and now ready to claim his own?" These questions were soon to be asked in Spain, and to receive immediate and satisfactory answers.

Had there been equitable and orderly government there, Abdu-r-rahmán would have waited in vain at Tahart for the chance of succession to the government; but the anarchy which had usurped the place of order, and the utter hopelessness of a better state of things, caused the intelligence of his coming to rise like a great light upon this dismal darkness. Yúsuf indeed held nominal sway; but he had only the sanction of a dead Khalif, whose living successor was at hand.[1] And besides, the conspirators against

[1] Upon the death of Meruan, Yúsuf al Fehri had at once ac-

his power had conquered a strong vantage-ground in all the North, and his authority was not stable beyond Toledo.

It was of this condition of things that Abdu-r-rahmán was now determined to avail himself; but, even before he took an initial step, the news of his residence at Tahart began to work among the special adherents of the Ommeyades in Spain. From the account of Condé, the reader is led to think indeed that, as soon as this party in Spain heard of his coming, they concerted measures, of which he was in ignorance, to place him on the throne, while the prince himself had hoped for nothing more than protection, and a share of the revenues befitting his rank. Nothing can be farther from the truth. How long he had cherished the purpose to reign in Spain cannot be known; but it is certain that he had fully formed it during his residence at Tahart, and that he took the initial step towards its accomplishment.

Makes secret preparations to enter Spain.

From Tahart, journeying along the table-land, he crossed the great coast range of the Atlas Mountains, and took up his headquarters at Melilla, nearer the sea. Thence he despatched his mauli and chief officer, Bedr, across the sea to reconnoitre, and cautiously to prepare the way for his own coming. Knowing that the family of the Ommeyades had a larger number of adherents in Spain than elsewhere, he had obtained the names of a few

Sends his mauli, Bedr, into Spain.

knowledged the authority of As-seffah; but most of the other subordinate governors held out for the former house, and now affected to consider him as a usurper.

of their chief men, and to these he gave Bedr letters and oral messages to be reinforced by Bedr's eloquence; and he also committed to him his signet-ring, to give validity to orders and proclamations which circumstances should render necessary or proper.

He told Bedr to find out these chiefs, and to inform them that it was his purpose to assert his claims to the Khalifate of Spain as the surviving heir, by lineal descent, from Hisham. He had a right, he said, to the supreme power at Damascus, the rulership of the whole Mohammedan world: he would begin by ruling in the most distant province, the Peninsula. He further directed Bedr to work upon the feelings and hopes of the discordant tribes of Yemen and Modhar; to play them off against each other, in order to keep them from rallying around Yúsuf.

Thus instructed, Bedr secretly entered Spain, and began to conduct the negotiations, with judgment and due caution, by sounding the leaders and men of distinction.

Chief among those who were loyal to the house of Ummeyah and adherents of the former Khalif Meruan, were Abu Othman Obeydullah and his son-in-law, Abdullah Ibn Khâled, former maulis of the family of the Khalif Othman; and there were beside, among the principal officers and soldiers in the Andalusian army, between four and five hundred good men and true, who, in the tragical turn of affairs, had retained their allegiance to the former house. This was a most important military nucleus.

It happened that, just before the arrival of Bedr in Spain, Abu Othman Obeydullah had received orders

from Yúsuf to repair with his forces to Saragossa, where, as has been already seen, As-samil had been for a time besieged by the rebellious chief, Az-zohri. It was while on this expedition, in which he was successful, that Abu Othman received from his son, who also bore the name of Abdu-r-rahmán, the secret message concerning the proposed landing of the prince. This intelligence he at once confided to Abdullah Ibn Khaled; and, as soon as he had relieved As-samil from the siege of Saragossa, he imparted it also, not without misgivings, to As-samil. This general had been the chief supporter of Yúsuf; and it might well be doubted what view he would take of a project to supplant the governor, to subvert the existing order of government, and perhaps, in so doing, to endanger his own authority. As-samil, therefore, rendered cautious by the dictates of self-interest, determined to weigh the matter carefully, and to await the course of events before deciding which party he would join.[1] Yúsuf was in possession, and Abdu-r-rahmán was as yet an adventurer, with good claims, indeed, but without men or money. But the power of Yúsuf was already greatly resisted and trammelled; and, on the other hand, the manifesto of the coming prince was timely and attractive. All that he needed was a strong party to receive him at his landing, and the report was that he had already gained that. In order to gain time, As-samil at first said that he was ready to receive the prince, and he would do everything in his power to influence Yúsuf

Tidings of his coming reach Spain.

The double-dealing of As-samil.

[1] Al Makkari, II. 64.

to submit without an effort at resistance, by flattering his lust of power and catering to his avarice. "Write to the youth," he said, "and tell him to cross over to us: when I have heard of his landing I will go to Yúsuf and advise him to do him honor, admit him to his intimacy, and give him one of his daughters in marriage. If he (Yúsuf) follow my advice, your object is gained: if he refuse, we shall strike his bald head with our swords, and take the command of this country from him to give it to your friend."[1]

But he soon changed his mind, or at least held very different language.[2] His honor, he said, required him to unsheathe his sword at the first against Abdu-r-rahmán; he must make a decent show of resistance in behalf of the ruling Amir; but he let them see that he was not unalterable, and even went so far as to wish them success. It was a bid for position in the new dynasty.

All this was before the landing of the prince; but, while in southern Andalus, the news of his intention was "spreading like fire among brushwood;" and while as yet Yúsuf, in the North, was in profound ignorance of his danger.

This absence of Yúsuf from Cordova gave a most

[1] Al Makkari, II. 63, 64.

[2] Al Makkari says (Ib.): "However, there are not wanting authors who relate this affair differently." I have ventured to think that the different statements of As-samil's views are reconciled by believing that he gave expression to these different views at different times. It agrees with his character and the dilemma in which he found himself, that he should thus temporize, and evade opposition at first by consenting, until he could confer with Yúsuf as to modes of resistance.

fortunate opportunity to the rapidly increasing party of Abdu-r-rahmán. It had already begun to take shape, and was now further strengthened by systematic action. Had Yúsuf been at home, it might have been delayed or entirely frustrated.

The council of eighty.

Eighty of the older Moslems of rank, chiefly officers of the Syrian party; men, says the chronicle, of flowing white beards, who had, as by a miracle, escaped death in so many civil wars,[1] met together in council at Cordova, to deliberate on the condition of affairs, and to consult with regard to the election of a new Amir, who should bring new skill and energy to repair, if possible, the disorders of the country.

Fearing the return and the vengeance of Yúsuf, they lost little time in debate. It was manifest to all men that something must be speedily done. The troubles, before great, had been largely fed and expanded by the usurpation of the Abbasides at Damascus. The Spanish Moslemah had long since ceased to feel any interest in these rivalries at the seat of the Khalifate, and yet the shadow of the name remained to add one to the many arguments of faction. There were reasons for their adhering to the traditions of the house of Ummeyah, which had sent them to conquer Andalus: there were none that could excite a fervor of loyalty for the family of Al Abbas unless they could see a strong rally in their favor.

[1] Condé, I., part ii., ch. ii. "Congregaron hasta ochenta venerabiles Musulmanes con sus largas y blancas barbas, como por milagro escapados de la muerte en tantas guerras civiles." — La Fuente, *Historia de España*, III. 95.

Besides, it was said in council, the distance between Spain and Syria was so great that the justest Khalif that had sat upon the throne — even Abu Bekr or Omar — could not gain full intelligence of the condition of the people, — the rights to be sustained, the wrongs to be redressed. The accounts which reached Damascus were partial from necessity, and were often colored by prejudice or distorted by malevolence. More than that, where the truth became really known, the opportunity had already passed by in the lapse of time for prompt and effective action.[1] Such, in summary, were the views presented in the council; and they were true and just.

Therefore, they said, let us at once take the matter into our own hands. Let us expect nothing more from Syria; and let us no longer consider as data of the problem the importunate demands of the factions now contending against each other in Spain. We want a new departure, a new government, a new man. Where can the man be found?

"Even so," said Temám Ibn 'Alkamah. "Spain is in itself spacious, populous, and rich enough to be an independent kingdom, and, ruled by a good prince, would be the most fortunate country of the world."[2] His words were echoed by others in the council.

The proposition of Temám.

Then Ayub of Emesa again took up the word, and said: "I propose the establishment of an independent Khalifate, which will free us at once of the nominal sovereignty of Damascus, and

And of Ayub.

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I., part ii., ch. ii. This is the substance of the remarks in the council of eighty, of Ayub of Emesa.

[2] Ib.

put an end forever to the intrigues of contending chieftains."

At this conjuncture, the skilful preparations of Bedr came into play. To the question, "Where shall we find a proper prince to rule over such a kingdom?" Wahib Ibnu-l-'asfar arose and said, "Do not marvel if I propose to you a young descendant of our ancient Khalifs, and one of the same race with our *Anabi* Mohammed, now wandering in Africa among barbarous tribes: though persecuted and a fugitive, he is yet respected and served by those right-thinking people for the true worth of his nature and the nobleness of his condition. I speak to you of Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Muawiyah, who was the son of Khalif Hisham Ibn Abdu-l-malek!"[1]

Thus public expression was given to what were the sentiments of large numbers already. The proposal was adopted with acclamations. A deputation of eleven among the principal men was appointed, including Temám and Wahib, who were to return to Africa with Bedr, to find the exiled prince, and, in the name of the Spanish elders and chiefs, to offer him the throne of Spain, in entire independence of the Khalifs, and in subversion of the claims and power of the incumbent Amir and all his provincial governors. They purchased a vessel, and the deputation sailed on their important errand, while good use was made by Abu Othman of the signet of Abdu-r-rahmán to issue letters and proclamations in

The deputation to the prince.

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I., part ii., ch. ii. He is called the *son* of Hisham, as meaning a descendant. He was really the grandson of that Khalif.

all directions, in order to prepare the people for his coming.

The chief of the deputation was Temám Ibn 'Al-kamah, and with him was Wahib Ibnu-l-'Asfar, who had already spoken and labored so ardently in behalf of the prince. There was no time to lose: in secrecy and celerity lay their strength. In the mean time, Abdu-r-rahmán, impatient for news, had, as we have seen, crossed the coast range, and encamped near the sea, in the neighborhood of a place then called Maghilah, in the present province of Algeria.[1] There, with his few attendants, he watched the white sails which approached the shore, "in a state of great anxiety," and from time to time "fervently prayed" for the return of Bedr.[2]

At last, a felucca was seen rapidly speeding to the shore; it grounded upon the beach near Maghilah; and the first person who leaped on shore was Bedr, who, running to his master, announced in few words the success of his expedition. He was soon followed by Temám, who advanced to confirm the tidings that the Spanish Arabs offered him "the empire and sovereignty of Spain."

Although fondly hoping for such intelligence, Abdu-r-rahmán was so overpowered by it when it came that for some time he could not find words with which to express his feelings. As soon as he could recover himself, he addressed Temám: "What is thy name?" he said. "Temám," was the answer. "And what thy surname?" "Abu Ghá-

His reception of the embassy.

[1] Modern Melilla.

[2] Al Makhari, II. 65.

lib" (the father of the victorious). "Allah akbar!" (God is great) he replied; "may his name be exalted! for if that be the case, we shall, through the power and interposition of the Almighty, conquer that land of yours and reign over it."[1]

He then went on to address the assembled envoys, promising them to be true to their cause, and to be a faithful brother and a sharer of their perils or their prosperity. He told them that he feared neither labor nor danger; for that, though young, "the inconstancy of his fortunes had rendered him familiar with many forms of death, and taught him to count his life as precarious and insecure."[2]

In turn, they assured him of the fidelity of the principal Moslemah; they told him of the weakness of Yúsuf, and promised that he should find on his landing a powerful party, commanded by skilful leaders, and a throne which awaited him, and would hardly cost a struggle to secure it. They enjoined upon him the importance of secrecy; but the great kindnesses which he had received from the Berber sheiks caused him to stipulate that they should be informed of the whole business, feeling sure of their good wishes and assistance. He was right. They all entered with ardor into his plans. The sheik of the Zenetes offered him at once five hundred horse. The chiefs of Mecnasa promised two hundred. The sheik of Tahart gave him a select body-guard of fifty horsemen, with a following of one hundred spearmen. This force was to be in readiness as soon as transpor-

[1] Al Makkari, II. 65.

[2] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I., part ii., ch. iii.

tation could be provided for them.[1] But the embassy was urgent that Abdu-r-rahmán should embark at once. There was but small preparation to make, and he was soon ready to return in the vessel which had brought them over; a king by promise, but with everything to provide and conquer.

The Berbers oppose his departure.

When he was ready to step on board, a troop of Berbers came flocking around him, and made demonstrations to oppose his departure. Scattering among them some dinars which the embassy had brought over, and making great haste lest an increase of numbers should really prevent the embarkation, he got on board. It was not a moment too soon: another rapacious band eager for gold rushed down, waded out, and clung to the sides of the boat and the camel's-hair cable by which it was anchored. The cable was cut, the crew and passengers could only relax their hold by giving them blows instead of dinars; and one, more tenacious than the rest, lost his hand by one blow of an attendant's sword.[2] The wind was favorable, the sail was spread, and the lone exile of the house of Ummeyah sped to the opposite shore, — the verge of a new and splendid empire in the near future.[3]

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I., part ii., ch. iii.

[2] These details, which may strike the reader as singularly circumstantial, may be found in Al Makkari, II. 65.

[3] In the "Annales Moslemici" of Abulfeda, the only notice of this important event, and of its sequence, is found in the following words: "Annus, 139 (A. H.), novo dedit imperio natales Ommajjadarum illi in Andalusia. Communis strages Ommajjadarum de qua paulo ante pluribus exposuimus ut cæteros ejus gentis qui salvi evaserunt, abdere sese qua poterant et tempestatem devitare cogebat;

A rapid passage took over the new Cæsar and his fortunes from the coast of Mauritania to the beach of Almuñecar,[1] near Malaga, where he found Abu Othman and his son-in-law, Ibn Khaled, waiting to receive him with the homage due to a monarch.

It was evening when he landed. They first knelt upon the sand in prayer. Then the principal chiefs took the oath of allegiance; after which they mounted and rode to Torrox, — a small town near the shore, a few miles to the west. It was in the early spring of the year 756, when the beauty of Nature is most charming in Southern Spain. Abdu-r-rahmán was in Andalus: for good or for evil? who could tell? He might hope that Bedr and the friendly leaders had judged justly of the chances of success, and yet he could not shake off the fear that their wish had been father to the thought.[2]

But every hour brought proofs that dispelled his fears and increased his confidence. Men flocked singly and in companies to his standard. At Torrox he was joined by the maulis of his house, headed by their chief, and numbers of the better class of Arabians. Soon a representation from Malaga appeared. The adjacent towns sent loyal

Lands in Andalus.

ita huic quoque Abdar Rahmano ut Hispaniam adiret suaserat, ubi cum gaudio et gratulatione a Moslemis exceptus fuit." — I. 145. We are led to think that if Spain was well rid of Damascus, Damascus thought little of the Peninsula, and let it go without much reluctance.

[1] "De las costas de Argel a las playgas de Almuñecar." — La Fuente, III. 98.

[2] The landing was in May, 756. Condé says 10th of first Rebie, A. H. 138.

embassies, and opened their gates. The enthusiasm was unbounded. The tribes of Syria and Egypt collected under their patriarchal banners, and came forth to meet him.

Following the vessel in which he had crossed, a thousand warriors of the friendly Berber tribes were traversing the narrow sea as fast as boats could be procured, according to their promise to swell his numbers. Young men were particularly attracted to him by his youth, his adventures, and his noble presence. He was their *beau-ideal* of a prince, worthy to be a supreme ruler. His slender, yet active and manly form, his bright blue eye, his sweet smile and his gracious manner, contributed to the general satisfaction, and prepossessed even those who had before been unwilling to acknowledge his claims. It was evident that the lustre of the Ommeyades had not been extinguished, but was now shining more brightly than ever.

In a few days he found himself at the head of large and constantly increasing forces. Crossing the range of the Alpujarras, he proceeded to Elvira,[1] where the work of organization was begun. New adherents joined him on his march, which was a continued ovation. At Elvira and in its neighborhood, the Syrians had been quartered, and the district was commanded and controlled by Abu Othman and Ibn

[1] Elvira was the Roman Illiberis ; its site is near Granada. The latter town was small and unimportant until the year 1012. Before that time, it was considered a dependency of Elvira ; but, little by little, the people of Elvira migrated to it, and as it grew Elvira dwindled into insignificance. — AL MAKKARI, I. 360, note 77.

Khaled. He was soon in condition to march. Through Sidonia and Moron he proceeded to Seville, where his partisans had preceded him and prepared his way. That city flung open its gates, amid wild shouts of: "God exalt Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'awiyah!" It was while he was at Elvira, and ready to march to Seville, that Yúsuf received the despatch, already referred to, that "a youth named Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'awiyah had lately landed, . . . and had been immediately proclaimed by the adherents and partisans of Meruan, who had flocked to him from all parts."

And advances rapidly.

I have been thus minute in describing the change of dynasty at Damascus, and the singular fortunes of Abdu-r-rahmán, not because I was tempted by the interesting and very romantic story, but that the reader might know the sequence of causes and events resulting in the establishment of an independent Khalifate in Spain, which alone could render the conquest complete, and lay the broad and deep foundations of an empire greater in dignity and influence than any which existed in Europe during the Middle Ages. History abounds in epics far more strange and picturesque than those which shape themselves in the minds of great poets. There is none stranger or more picturesque than that which we have just narrated. Wonderful as it is, it manifests the logic and philosophy of truth; while without the details presented it would appear like a legend full of fabulous miracles.

BOOK VII.

THE DYNASTY OF THE OMMEYADES IN SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

ABDU-R-RAHMÁN I., CALLED AD-DÁKHEL, OR THE OPENER.[1]

IN a former chapter I anticipated the effect produced upon the Amir, Yúsuf al Fehri, by the successful landing of Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'awiyah on the shores of Spain. He foresaw the speedy termination of his authority. For nine years he had administered the government of Spain with energy and skill unrivalled in the history of the Amirate; and this unusually long tenure of power was a proof that he had rare administrative gifts. He had indeed, all things considered, ruled with remarkable judgment and vigor. He was by no means disposed to abandon his authority without an effort to retain it; but he now saw that the struggle was imminent and would be severe. And yet his position was worth a struggle like this.

The effect on Yúsuf al Fehri.

[1] Condé finds in this word an opprobrious sense. He calls him "the intruder." I have followed Gayangos, who translates Ad-dákhel, "the enterer," "the conqueror." It will bear the construction, that he *opened* his own way to power. "Abdu-r-rahmán was surnamed Ad-dákhel [i. e., the *enterer*], because he was the first of

He was in actual possession, and still retained the strong support of the Modharites, which nine years before had elevated him to power, against the intrigues of the men of Yemen. He was seconded by As-samil as wizir, a brave and wary chieftain; and the immediate instruments of his will were his own warlike sons, who were worthy to be the supporting pillars of his government.

One of these sons, by name Abdu-r-rahmán, had been left in command at Cordova, while Yúsuf was endeavoring to re-establish his authority at the North, imperilled by the factions which were uniting against him. As soon as the governor of Cordova heard of the landing of the Ommeyan prince, he sent, as has been seen, to inform his father; and, without a moment's delay, he set to work to place the city in a condition of defence, for he knew it would at once be the objective point of attack by the new aspirant. As-samil, who had also determined to test his mettle, collected hastily all the men he could from among the tribes settled principally in Merida, Toledo, Valencia, and Murcia.

We return to Yúsuf. When he found his army growing rapidly smaller by desertions, he hastened to Toledo, where he was before long joined by As-samil and his forces. With characteristic ardor, As-samil urged him to march at once with the troops now in hand to attack the adventurer, before he could be largely recruited in numbers, and

Yúsuf and As-samil join forces.

his family who entered Andalus, and *Sakr Koraysh* [the hawk of Koraysh], owing to the rapidity with which he subjected that country to his rule." — AL MAKKARI, II. 93.

have time to organize. But Yúsuf was more cautious. They had not men enough, and the question of the commissariat was a serious one. He decided that it was the wisest course to march to Cordova, where they would find a strong garrison and provisions. This plan was adopted. By the time they reached Cordova, Abdu-r-rahmán, the prince, had entered Seville, and was proceeding to Cordova, for the same reasons that took Yúsuf there, — it was the great magazine of supplies in Andalus.

The prince had men, and their number was daily increasing; but their very increase made his want of supplies more obvious and more painful. He must conquer these supplies in the capital; and, between him and Cordova, there loomed up the gaunt visage of famine, and the vision of a desperate battle. By his own gallant bearing, and by sharing their hardships, he kept up the spirits of his men, and he promised them rewards as soon as he should have conquered the means of rewarding.

And under what new banner should they march to certain victory, — a banner which should be their rallying-point in battle, and their symbol of success?

It was happily suggested that the simplest, if not the most novel, — for I fancy the expedient was not a new one, — would be a turban, unrolled and suspended from the head of a lance. By many superstitious minds in the council, it was considered of evil omen that the head of the lance should be lowered to receive the turban; but the difficulty was removed by the sudden and opportune appearance of a prophecy. Two olive-trees grew

The banner of the turban.

very near each other, and it had been predicted, so says the legend, that between them "a banner should be erected for a prince before whom no other banner should ever wave victorious."[1] So a man climbed one of the olive-trees; the lance was held erect between them, and the turban fastened to it, "without lowering it in the least."

We may state its fortunes in a word. It was held so sacred that, when the turban became ragged, it was not removed, but simply covered over with a new one; until, at a later period in the history of the new dynasty, the old rags were removed by an ignorant or a sacrilegious hand, and "from that time the empire of the Beni Ummeyah began visibly to decline."[2]

Under this fluttering streamer, Abdu-r-rahmán marched from Seville, and moved cautiously towards Cordova; while Yúsuf, with equal caution, was advancing from another direction to meet him there. The sufferings of his troops were already great; but they inspired an advance far more than they counselled retreat. To conquer was to revel in plenty. The long-continued famine — for six consecutive years[3] — had so completely exhausted the country, that both men and officers subsisted mainly upon the

[1] Al Makkari, II. 68. The name of one of the men who ascended the tree is even preserved in the detailed account. It was 'Abdullah Ibn Khâled.

[2] This singular story of Arabian superstition is related by Ibnu Hayyan, whom Al Makkari calls "the judicious historian." — *Ib.* II. 69.

[3] This year was afterwards known as '*Amu-l-khalaf*, the year after the famine.

herbs and plants which they found on their line of march.

Advancing by the right bank of the river, which he had crossed at Seville, he at last reached the extensive plain of Musárah, which he found already selected as the field of battle by Yúsuf, who had marched to meet him, and then had slowly retired to this position. It is a tract of level country, a short distance west of Cordova, and seems formed by nature as a place of concourse and conflict.

The situation of the two leaders, although differing in many points, was almost equally critical. If Yúsuf should be beaten, it would be a severe shock to an already declining cause. It would lend strength to the insurgents against his authority in the North. If Abdu-r-rahmán should be defeated, it might be utter annihilation; or, if less fatal, he would be thrown back, without supplies, and in the most adverse circumstances, to begin his career anew, and with a terrible damper thrown upon the enthusiasm of his adherents. For both, then, the issue of the war was critical in the extreme; for the fortunes of each, victory was a necessity.

Critical condition of both armies.

It will not be wondered, then, that there was great caution on both sides, and that the first efforts of both took the form of negotiation covering the reality of a temporizing policy. There was a trial of wits before there was a trial of prowess.

In one respect, Yúsuf had a decided advantage. His army had been fully supplied with provisions at Cordova, and he could even make a show of a great slaughter of sheep, and display their flesh to his

famished foe; less, as the historian suggests, to insult the starving than to impress them with his superior condition in point of the chief munitions of war.[1] But, as in the ancient vision, the lean kine were to eat up those that were fat and well liking. The troops of the prince slept upon their arms, while he passed the night without sleep, seeing that all was in readiness for the battle.

In this condition of things, the first propositions for peace came from Yúsuf; and, although tendered with apparent frankness, it was manifest that they were only an expedient to gain time, and put his adversary off his guard. Abdu-r-rahmán received them with a gravity which feigned to believe them honest, but in truth neither was deceived.

It was now the middle of May, in the year 756, and a great day in the Mohammedan calendar was at hand. It was the Festival of the Victims, considered by the Faithful the greatest feast of their ritual year. It commemorated that sacrifice of animals, made during three days, on the arrival of a train of pilgrims at Mecca, in the valley of Mina.

Festival of the Victims.

On the eve of the eventful day, he had secured the person of Khâled, Yúsuf's secretary, who had come as a herald, and had fathomed the purpose and the stratagem of Yúsuf;[2] and he determined to find some religious sanction by making the day of the festival the

[1] Al Makkari, II. 70.

[2] May 15, 756. — AL MAKKARI, II. 71. The prince gave orders that, if he should be defeated, the secretary should be put to death; so the Khaled kept saying there was nothing he wished for more ardently than that his master should be defeated. — *Ib.* II. 70.

day of battle. It was not far to seek: the slaughter of the enemy should be the most acceptable sacrifice to Allah.

The morning dawned with auspicious brightness; and the gallant young prince, mounted upon a swift and beautiful steed, rode among his admiring troops, and prepared to lead them to the attack. The men of Yemen, the hereditary foes of the Modharites, were in his ranks, but were, as the sequel shows, fighting more for their own hand than for him and his fortunes. To some of them he was yet a doubtful character, whose claims could be only vindicated by a notable success. He was indeed to many already an object of suspicion; and, when they saw his splendid horse, they affected to see in it preparation rather for flight in case of necessity than for vigor in attack. "He will turn back," they said, "at the first onset, and leave us to our fate."[1] The quick-witted prince was informed of their suspicions; and, with a prudence and dissimulation beyond his years; and, far more, with a moral courage which gives us a valuable glimpse of his character, he feigned to be unable to manage his fiery charger. Turning to Abú-s-sabáh, the chief of the Yemenis, the head and front of the offence, he begged him to let him have his mule in exchange. Thus the suspicions were allayed, and those who had been infected by them reassured or silenced. Then, on the gray mule of Abú-s-sabáh, called *Kaukab*, or lightning, he rode in front of his troops and harangued them. He reminded them of the great festival, and of the reeking victims, so

Abdu-r-rahmán's prudence.

[1] Al Makkari, II. 70.

acceptable to Allah. But there was something much more curious and significant still. "What day is this?" he asked his men. They answered him, "Thursday, the day of 'Arefah." He then called their attention to the fact that it was also the anniversary of a former great battle in the history of the Beni Ummeyah, and in the annals of Islám. In Syria, years before, at Merj-Ráhitt, the Beni Ummeyah and the Arabs of Yemen, under Meruan, had fought against the Beni Fehr (Modharites), and the tribe of Kays, and a great victory had been achieved.

Similar were the conditions now. "The Beni Ummeyah," he went on to say, "are on the one side, and the Beni Fehr on the other; opposed to each other are the sons of Kays, and the tribes of Yemen: let this day be a brother of that of Merj-Ráhitt, which it so much resembles in every respect."[1] Whatever of fallacy there may be in such an argument will be ranged under the *idola tribus;*[2] but, if the logic is faulty, the inciting effect has always been powerful. It is not logic, but magnetism, that moves men in such contingencies.

His fiery and persuasive words being finished, he led his troops to the attack.

The struggle was fierce in the extreme, — the prestige of advance for conquest and lineal right against the tenacity of unsanctioned possession. Of the two

[1] Al Makkari, II. 71.

[2] The reader will find more modern illustrations in Cromwell's battle of Dunbar, his "crowning mercy" fought on his birthday; and Napoleon's "soleil d'Austerlitz," which shone upon later victories.

contingents, Yúsuf's force was the first to give way before the desperate charge of Abdu-r-rahmán.

The veteran As-samil could not accept the thought of defeat. He spurred his gray mule into the thickest ranks of the enemy, seeking for the young chieftain, who was conspicuous on another gray mule. In vain was As-samil reminded that he was fighting against tradition, that an unlucky coincidence had made the result a foregone conclusion. The fears and misgivings of his followers could not infect his stout heart. He was, although defeated and routed, the individual hero of the unfortunate day, borne backward in the tide of retreat which he was powerless to stem. At last, the forces of Yúsuf gave way at all points, and the victory of Musárah was complete; the genius of the new conquest had achieved its first triumph. The field was crowded with the dead; and many illustrious prisoners were taken, among whom was Abdu-r-rahmán, the son of Yúsuf al Fehri. The army of Yúsuf melted into thin air; the defeated generals fled, with small, detached remnants of their troops, in different directions, — As-samil to the district of Jaen, and Yúsuf towards Merida.

The battle.

But, just as the victory promised the first element of stability to the new government, an event had nearly happened which would have put an end to the new order at the moment of its beginning, and have thrown the Peninsula into a worse confusion than ever before. The chiefs of the Yemenis, ostensibly on the side of the prince, were fighting for power for themselves; in field phrase, they had been wait-

ing for their innings as against the Beni Modhar. They had, indeed, gratified their revenge, but the defeat of Yúsuf and As-samil promised them little more, if Abdu-r-rahmán was to reap the chief glory, and rule them and the Beni Modhar alike with a regal and an iron sceptre. Indeed, as he was a Modharite, he might, even when all were reduced to submission, be more kindly disposed to his own kinsmen than to the Yemenis.[1]

Treacherous purposes of Abu-s-sabáh.

The battle was hardly over, when Abu-s-sabáh turned to the men of Yemen and said: "O men! let our victory this day be complete. We have annihilated the party of Yúsuf and As-samil: let us put to death this beardless youth,— I mean the son of Mu'awiyah, our present commander. If we do, the empire is ours; and we may then appoint one of ourselves to the command of this country, and be forever rid of the Beni Modhar."[2]

But the bearing and the promises of "the beardless youth" had won too strongly upon all the troops. The treacherous proposal of the chief found no answering echo from his men: it came, however, to the ears of the prince, who cherished it in silence, and afterwards made use of it to compass the death of Abú-s-sabáh.

There was nothing now to impede the entrance of Abdu-r-rahmán into Cordova. Again he compelled

[1] Nothing more powerfully illustrates the deplorable and factious condition of things in the Peninsula than this sudden purpose of victorious troops to destroy their leader, and reap at once the fruits of victory for themselves. It also foreshadows the difficulties which were to beset the administration of the prince.

[2] Al Makkari, II. 72.

the applause even of his enemies. For three days he encamped outside the city, that the family of Yúsuf might have time to leave it, without "harm of body or goods." There is a story that this was at the intercession of the wives and daughters of Yúsuf, one of whom, speaking for the rest, approached him, saying, "Be generous, O cousin, after thy victory."[1] Be this as it may, the generosity is noteworthy, and had its reward. He further declared a general amnesty to all who, having taken up arms against him, would now lay them down.

The prince enters Cordova.

Then, his men being recruited, he appointed Abú Othman governor of Cordova, and started to beat up the quarters of Yúsuf and As-samil. Upon them his clemency was lost: they had too much at stake, and were too deeply involved to recognize any alternative except success or ruin. Indeed, their resources were by no means exhausted, but were to tempt them many a trial before the end should come.

The principal gathering of the party of Yúsuf seems to have been in the neighborhood of Elvira, and thither Abdu-r-rahmán marched. But he had hardly left the capital before Yúsuf, by forced marches, contrived to place himself between him and Cordova; and so inadequate was the power of the small garrison to resist him, that Yúsuf entered the city. But Abú Othman, the governor, taking refuge with his garrison in the tower of the mosque, defied his efforts, refused compliance with his demand for surrender, and bravely waited for succor.

And then marches to Elvira.

[1] Al Makkari, II. 418, note 14 of Gayangos, quoting Mohammed a-Khoshani.

That succor came in the form of a treaty of peace, made in July, 756, on terms of compromise which it was manifest could not last long. Each party was to keep that of which he was in actual possession at the time. Yúsuf was to reside in Cordova as a distinguished *détenu.* A palace was assigned as his residence, but he was to report in person to Abdu-r-rahmán once a day; and two of his sons were also to remain as hostages for the honorable fulfilment of the conditions. Thus there was a temporary peace, and the armies so lately arrayed against each other joined hands at Cordova.[1] How long could this last?

Treaty with Yúsuf.

It was not in the nature of things for Yúsuf to content himself with the terms imposed. If nothing in the way of a grievance should arise, he would devise means to rupture the treaty. But in the narrative of Ibn Hayyan we find that something tangible at least soon presented itself to a mind constantly seeking for an expedient.

The treaty was made in July, 756, and it left both Yúsuf and As-samil in possession of large estates in land. Two years had not elapsed before the *casus fœderis* arose in the following manner. The title to a certain part of Yúsuf's land was disputed; and, when the case was brought before the Kadi, judgment was given against him. For this he blamed the prince, and then, fearing his displeasure, he secretly left Cordova, and set up a new standard of

It is broken by Yúsuf.

[1] I have followed the account of Al Makkari, which is clear and connected. There is great confusion in that of Condé, and the two cannot be made to agree.

revolt at Merida. He was soon at the head of twenty thousand men, and proclaimed himself the only Amir with authority from Damascus. The question of possession was to be fought all over again.

Abdu-r-rahmán marched out of Cordova as far as Almodovar, with an army of observation, but imposed the task of crushing the rebellion upon Abdu-l-malek Ibn Omar,[1] the governor of Seville. After several encounters, the son of Omar brought him to bay, defeated him, and dispersed his army. Yúsuf escaped and fled for his life towards Toledo, but, being recognized in one of the hamlets near that city, he was put to death, and his head carried to the camp of Abdu-r-rahmán. The prince at once ordered that the eldest son of Yúsuf, Abdu-r-rahmán, who had been first a prisoner, and then a hostage since the battle of Musárah, should be beheaded. The public crier announced the event in the streets of Cordova, and the two heads, fixed upon lances, were placed in the gateway of the palace, as bloody tokens of the termination of the dependent Amirate, and the establishment of the new dynasty.

When Yúsuf had made his secret flight from Cordova, the person of As-samil had been at once secured. He was asked whither Yúsuf had gone. If he knew he would not tell, but hastened his fate by the declaration: "Were Yúsuf here under my foot, I would

[1] The name of this governor appears in the Latin chronicles as *Omaris filius*, and was contracted or corrupted into *Marsilius* or *Marsilio*. "Contraccion sin duda de *Omaris filius*, como llamaron los Christianos á Ben Omar, y despues por corrupcion Marsilius." — LA FUENTE, III. 104.

not raise it, to give thee the opportunity of seizing on him."

He was cast into a dungeon with the two sons of Yúsuf, Abú-l-Aswad and Abdu-r-rahmán. By bribing the guards, one of the young men succeeded in escaping to keep up the family vendetta for seven years longer; but the old chieftain As-samil either could not, or certainly did not, leave his prison. The other son of Yúsuf failed to escape, and was, as has just been narrated, beheaded as soon as his father's head was presented to the prince.

The death of As-samil.

As-samil's death was not long delayed. According to one account, he was strangled in his dungeon; according to another, he drank a poisoned cup.[1] Condé is quite as circumstantial in saying that he was arrested, taken to Toledo, and executed there. Thus, thrice slain by the historians, he was certainly dead; in what manner it little concerns us to know.

There might be revolts, but the two men who could give them efficiency were gone, and the greatest obstacle to the new dynasty forever removed. "Thus," says Al Makkari, "are the immutable decrees of the Almighty irrevocably fulfilled on his creatures. God is great! God is great! There is no God but Him! the Merciful, the Compassionate!"[2]

While the fortunate prince was thus experiencing the mercy and assistance of Allah, in the downfall of his enemies in Andalus, what was the effect of these marvellous successes upon the Eastern Khalif, whose authority he had so completely set at defiance?

[1] Al Makkari, II. 80. [2] Ib.

The accession of the house of Abbas had induced important changes. The seat of empire had been removed from Damascus to Baghdad, and the contemporary Khalif, Abú Ja'far Al-mansur (754–775), had conceived plans for making the new capital the magnificent metropolis of the world. It was more central: it was in the garden land of Mesopotamia. It should have no rival.

The seat of the Khalif removed from Damascus to Baghdad.

He could ill brook the defiant pretensions and the splendid successes of a hated rival in the West. He had misgivings lest the glories of Cordova might dispute the palm with the wonders of Baghdad; and he determined to make a vigorous effort to destroy the prince. Too far from the scene to deal personally with the question, he despatched orders to the Wali of Eastern Africa, Al-'ala Ibn Mughíth Al Yahssobí, to fit out a fleet, and, with a force sufficient to be a rallying-point for insurgents who still cherished the memory of Yúsuf and As-samil and clung to the sons of Yúsuf, to land on the western coast, to summon the inhabitants to their former allegiance, to ravage the land, and to declare that there was but one Khalif who reigned supreme on earth. In a word, the adventurous Wali was to reconquer Spain to its former allegiance and dependence.

Ibn Mughíth lost no time in carrying out his instructions. Probably he took with him to the sea a large force, but he crossed with small numbers, and, marching rapidly inland, advanced to Beja. He was not disappointed. Large numbers of the inhabitants joined him: there was influence in the Khalif's commission; there

Ibn Mughíth sent to attack Abdu-r-rahmán in Spain.

was prestige in this gallant advance of the black banners of the Abbasides. For a brief space, it seemed as if the greatest, the most portentous peril had confronted the heir of the Ommeyades. He had conquered Spain from the Amir to give it back to the Khalif. The forces of the invaders and insurgents, growing daily in numbers, were encamped between Badajos and Seville, on the borders of Estremadura. But they were not prepared for the fury of Abdu-r-rahmán's attack. With his accustomed impetuosity he fell upon them, threw them into disorder, and routed them. The carnage was terrible: seven thousand of their number were killed; among them were most of the officers and the Wali himself.

Abdu-r-rahmán's vengeance.

Then Abdu-r-rahmán published his revenge. The conqueror of the West proclaimed his conquests in the East. The head and some of the members of the Wali, and the heads of many of the officers, who were well known, were placed in sealed bags with the black banners that had been captured. Papers giving their names and titles were fastened to the ears, and the bags were sent by trusty merchants, as if carrying their stores, to Mecca. It was known or believed that the Khalif, Al-mansur, was then on a pilgrimage in Mecca. This proved to be true; and the secret agent deposited these bags, with the address of the Khalif upon them, and a caution as to the value of the treasures they contained, at the door of his tent during the darkness of the night. In the morning, the guards informed him of the circumstance; he ordered the bags to be brought in, and opened them with his own hand. The first

thing he found was an inscription: "In this manner does Abdu-r-rahmán, the son of Mu'awiyah, the son of Ummeyah, chastise rash men like Al-'ala Ibn Mughíth, Wali of Kairwan." Then came from the bloody sack the head of the envoy of Al-mansur.[1] The Khalif is reported to have exclaimed when he saw it: "This man is Eblis in human form. Praised be God, who has placed a sea between him and me!" He also called the prince Sakru-l-Koraysh (the hawk of the Koraysh); and ever afterwards honored him with an especial hatred, and took every opportunity to sow the seeds of rebellion in Andalus.

But the vengeance of Abdu-r-rahmán was not yet satisfied. In the ardor of its pursuit, he determined to retaliate by leading in person an expedition to invade Syria, and to restore the throne of the Ommeyades at Damascus. To this end, he directed his trusty general, Temám Ibn Alkámah, who commanded on the coast, to fit out a large navy in several seaport towns. He began to depress the chiefs of tribes, and to appeal directly to the people;

He prepares to invade the East.

[1] La Fuente, Historia de España, III. 107. The account given above is taken from Al Makkari, who also says, the mutilated bodies were taken "to *Kairwan* and *Mekka*, to be cast at night into the squares and principal streets of those two cities." Condé says they were conveyed to Kairwan, and the inscription was nailed to a column in the most public spot. The scene at Mecca is described in detail by Al Makkari; but the duplication and consequent confusion in the accounts seem at least to verify the bloody vengeance, without certifying the exact mode and place. La Fuente expresses his astonishment that so clement a prince should have committed so ferocious an act. Terror-striking as it was, it is entirely in accordance with the moral strategy of the age and people; and nothing could have been more effective.

he took Berbers into his pay, and elevated them in the social scale. Thus he had a standing army of forty thousand men; and he might hope, by this consolidating process, to be able to pacify Spain, and keep it in subjection, and yet to be able to leave it in person for a reconquest in the East.[1]

But notwithstanding his skill and invincibility, he found this scheme impossible, and reluctantly abandoned it. Rebellions were so constantly renewed that he was obliged to give his undivided attention to the home affairs of his kingdom, and never carried out his project of assaulting the Khalifate of the East.

It would not repay us to inquire into the circumstances of all these revolts. Many of them were pointless and absurd, but others were not without a spice of philosophy. "God was pleased to render him victorious over every one of them."

A Berber of the tribe of Meknasah (Mequinez), whose mother's name was Fátimah, considering that fact as an auspicious omen, gave out that he was a descendant of Fátimah, the daughter of the Prophet. Under this delusion, he gained such a following when he set up his standard at Santa Maria, across the bay from Cadiz, that he withstood the power of the prince for two years, at the end of which he was slain by one of his own men, and his forces were dispersed.

It will be remembered that Abú-s-sabáh, the chief

[1] He sent people over to enlist the Berbers in his service; and those who came to him he treated so well as to make their comrades desirous of following them.

of the Yemenis, had counselled the assassination of the prince, immediately after the victory of Musárah. Years had elapsed, and the treason seemed forgotten; but, in the year 766, Abdu-r-rahmán, "hearing that the Arabian chief was aiming at revolt, he laid a snare for him and put him to death." Then Hayyát Ibn Mulábis Al-hadhramí, the governor of Seville, conspired with two other nobles of the tribe of Yemen, and took up arms against Abdu-r-rahmán. But they could not stand against the fiery attack of the prince. Their forces were routed, and they were either slain in battle or put to death afterwards.[1]

New revolts.

But the rising which, more than all others combined, interfered with his scheme for leading his troops into Syria, was the news of a formidable insurrection in Saragossa, and rumors that it was to be assisted by an army from France. Of this and its consequences I shall treat in the next chapter.

The career of Abdu-r-rahmán was encompassed with troubles and embarrassments. As the heir of the Ommeyades, he was constantly opposed by what many considered the legitimate, or at least the established, authority of the Abbasides in the Eastern Khalifate. The various tribes, careless of this grand distinction, were always fighting for their own tribal interests. The personal adherents of Yúsuf were not all dead; and there were a few men whose individual ambition caused disaffection to the prince.

[1] There is a sort of inconsequence in the statement: "There are not wanting historians who assert that they contrived to escape from the slaughter, and were some time afterwards pardoned by Abdu-r-rahmán." — AL MAKKARI, II. 84.

On the other hand, besides the personal and attractive gifts of the prince, it is evident that his great strength lay in the fact that his enemies were opposing, and his friends vigorously supporting, an original and independent power, and not a delegated power. If he ruled as of the house of Ummeyah, it was by the claim of lineal right; if he was a successful revolutionist, he had won his kingdom, and rescued it from anarchy and chaos. He was strong on either ground.

The disaffection to the government was incited by various causes. That in the northeast of Spain grew nominally out of the intrigues of the adherents of the Abbasides, who made Saragossa the fertile land of treason, and could, in that distant city, plot their treachery with greater impunity than in any other part of the Peninsula. But the scheme was long in plotting, and Abdu-r-rahmán watched it warily, while it made no offensive movement.[1]

[1] It is said that the first Mohammedan conquerors and settlers of Saragossa were chiefly Berbers, who were jealous of the Arabians, and who assumed the guise of loyalty to the house of Abbas to restrict the authority of the Arabian prince who ruled as the heir of the Ommeyades, but was distasteful to them in that he was an Arab at all. Arabia might claim the great motive and original undertaking of the conquest of Spain; but Africa, with its greater numbers, was eager for the power and possession.

CHAPTER II.

TROUBLE FROM THE NORTH.

IN the contiguous kingdom of France, the Carlovingian power had been fully established, by a movement so powerful, and yet so gradual, that the nation had acquiesced without a shadow of regret; and a mighty potentate had now arisen, worthy not only to grasp the sceptre which had been wielded by his father, Peppin, but to eclipse the mighty deeds of his grandfather, Charles Martel. After ages, perhaps misconceiving the name Karloman,[1] called him in Latin *Carolus Magnus.* If thus the name *great* has really been connected with his appellative, he is the only historical character who can claim this distinction; and he is not unworthy of it. He appears, indeed, as superhuman in legend and ballad, and is almost so in veritable history. His power ably seconded his ambition, and his ambition was only limited to the restoration under his own sceptre of the Roman empire of the West. He aimed to make Italy a part of his imperial dominions. He

Vast projects of Charlemagne.

[1] See Thierry, who uses *Carolingians* instead of *Carlovingians,* and who makes Charlemagne the corruption of Karloman. The French *Charlemagne* is not adopted by the Germans, who speak of him as *Karl der Gross.*

had already, between 769 and 778, made one campaign to the banks of the Dordogne, to compel the Aquitani to submission; three against the Saxons, beyond the Weser; and three against the Lombards, to Pavia, to Verona, to Treviso; and a journey in 774 to Rome.

While thus warring with the German tribes at the North, and the Lombards in Italy, he was casting covetous glances upon the Mohammedan empire in Spain. The Frankish dominions which had recognized the authority of Charles Martel had been further extended and reorganized by his son, Peppin le Bref, from the Loire to the mountains of Gascony; and now Charlemagne was ready to seize the earliest opportunity to cross the great mountain barrier of the Pyrenees, to march upon the Saracens in their Spanish strongholds, and to go as far as his fortunes would carry him. The factious condition and the unsettled state of the northeast of Spain presented the coveted opportunity.

The treachery of the Wali of Saragossa.

The Wali of Saragossa was Al-huseyn Ibn Yahya; but the power behind him — the chief inciter of resistance to the authority of Abdu-r-rahmán — was Suleyman Ibn Yokdhan[1] Al Arabi. The latter had been the former Wali, and retained much influence. These men considered Sar-

[1] Al Makkari (II. 85) makes the date of this rebellion A. H. 157, A. D. 773; but Gayangos, in a note, quotes An-nuwayrí as fixing it in 779. The reader will observe that the deputation from Saragossa waited upon Charlemagne in 777, and that monarch undertook the invasion in 778. These performances were secret, or intended to be so. The insurrection proper was after the affair of Roncesvalles, in 779, and it was crushed by Abdu-r-rahmán in that year.

agossa and the valley of the Ebro rich, spacious, and important enough, and, withal, sufficiently marked by geographical lines to become an independent kingdom. They knew the temper of Abdu-r-rahmán, and that he would never consent to the dismemberment. They veiled their purpose under the show of loyalty to the reigning dynasty of the house of Abbas, and they thought — simple men — that they might obtain the right measure of support from the Frankish king, and perhaps no great opposition from Abdu-r-rahmán.

I am by no means clear as to the details of the chronicle; but the great facts are patent, even if the details of the story be suppressed. If the chronicle may be trusted, a deputation from Saragossa waited upon Charlemagne to ask his support in this ambitious scheme of Al Arabi.

The power of the Frankish monarch was virtually absolute;[1] but there was more than a show of popular concurrence in the two councils held annually to receive the king's *capitula,* and to sanction his edicts. In fine weather, they assembled in the open air; the lords, lay and ecclesiastical, met without other lay representation. If they always expected to accede to the wishes of the monarch, he convened them for advice and information upon which to base his plans. These were semi-religious, semi-military assemblies, and brought the king and his people into intimate relations. The spring meetings were held in the month of May, and therefore are known in French history as *Champs de Mai.*[2]

The Champ de Mai.

[1] Guizot, Histoire de la Civilization, II. ch. xx.

[2] "Nombre que daban los franceses a las asambleas semi-reli-

Only the most important meetings are mentioned by the contemporary chroniclers. In 770, one was held at Worms; another the next year at Valenciennes; the succeeding year again at Worms. In 773, the meeting was at Geneva. None is noticed in 774. In 775, it was at Duren; the next year at Worms.

In the year 776, Charlemagne had, with wonderful celerity, conducted two campaigns in person,— one against the Lombards as far as Treviso, and the other to punish the Saxons, which took him as far as the sources of the Lippe. To exhibit the results of this double campaign, and to counsel upon the best way of utilizing them, he convened his assembly, in the year 777, at Paderborn, and thither the Mohammedan ambassadors from Saragossa repaired to his court.

At Paderborn.

There the North and South seemed to hold *rendezvous*. For the first time Arab sheiks stood beside Saxon æthelings in the train of the great Charles.[1] Among the northern warriors, with long fair hair uncovered by morion or cap, blue eyes, and robust persons, the small deputation of Arabs were distinguished by their dark skins and sinewy forms covered with white turbans and striped burnous, or Oriental mantles; and it was

giosas, semi-militares de la Germania, por haber Pepino trasladado al mes de Mayo los antiguos *campos de Marte*." — LA FUENTE, III. 134. *Le champ de Mars* is usually a field of martial display, but it originally meant a military meeting held in March. Acting upon the similarity of names, a temple consecrated to Mars was built on the Campus Martius at Rome.

[1] "Le nord et le midi semblaient s'être donné rendezvous, et les cheiks arabes figuraient à coté des ethlings saxons dans le cortège du grand Karle." — H. MARTIN, *Histoire de France*, II. 269.

bruited about that they had come to offer Charles one of the fairest provinces of Spain, contiguous with his own dominions, to be at least a tributary domain. It gave to the Frankish pageant the air of a cosmopolitan triumph. It seemed the best presage of a restored empire of the West.

It is asserted that in this Arabian embassy were Ibn Al Arabi, the envoy of the Wali of Saragossa, and the representative of the Abbasides, and Kasim, the surviving son of Yúsuf Al Fehri, who had joined the deputation that he might find the means of avenging his father's wrongs and death. The presence of other Arabians of high rank gave token of the dignity of their cause, and the reality of the proposals they were about to make.[1]

It may well be conceived that the great Frankish monarch was delighted with the appearance of such an embassy: it formed an important element in the great plan which he was carrying out. And yet it would be, indeed, a very superficial view of the purpose of Charlemagne,—a view which, however, has been taken by many historians,—that he was simply engaged in a war of conquest and self-aggrandizement, and that he used Christianity as a pretext; that, like Napoleon, he wished to bring all of western Europe under his sceptre, to gratify his own ambition and give power to his

The true policy of Charlemagne.

[1] "Quum enim per xxxiii. annos, bellum cum Saxonibus protraheret, venit ad eum [Carolum] quidam Maurus nomine *Hibbui* naxalabi, quem Cæsar Augustano Regno, Abderrahman, Magnus Rex Maurorum præfecerat, spondens sese et omnem provinciam suæ ditioni subditurum." — *Chronicon Silense, in España Sagrada*, 17, 272.

family. The truth is far different: it was a struggle for life in which he was engaged. The new empire which had been established by the Carlovingians, and which has been called that of the Roman-Germans, — the Franks being the strongest and most central element, — was really menaced from the northeast by new and powerful German and Slavonian tribes, — the Saxons, the Huns, the Avars, and the Slavonians of Bohemia. They were all as ambitious of power and territory as the Franks themselves. And now he considered himself as threatened by an invasion from the south, as in the days of his grandfather; an invasion to be prevented rather than met; one which might otherwise grow into larger proportions than the former, along the coast of the Mediterranean; while to the east he must hold in check the Lombards in Italy. "Thus," in the words of Guizot, "did the various causes of war variously combine; but, whatever might be the combinations, it was always the German Christians and Romans who defended their nationality, their territory, and their religion, against nations of another origin or creed, who sought a soil to conquer. . . . Charlemagne had in no way reduced this necessity into a general idea or theory: but he understood and faced it; great men rarely do otherwise. He faced it by conquest: defensive war took the offensive form; he carried the struggle into the territory of nations who wished to invade his own." [1]

[1] Histoire de la Civilization, etc., II. lect. xx. I am glad to quote also a similar expression of opinion from Thiers: "Il réunit sous sa main l'Austrasie, la Neustrie, l'Aquitaine, c'est-à-dire la France, puis refoulant les Saxons au nord, les poursuivant jusqu'à

This view is corroborated, and his greatness set forth in enviable contrast, by the sudden dismemberment, the almost explosive dissolution of the empire at his death.

But to return to the Arabian embassy. He saw in their proposals an opportunity to protect the Pyrenean frontier by the interposition of an ally of the enemy's blood. He could hold the passes on the south side; and if invasion should be necessary or desirable, the advance would be easy and the return safe, through a territory extending from the mountains to the Ebro, which should be held by his Moslem friends and tributaries.[1] From the opulent cities of the North, he might hope for rich tribute; and, above all, if his proselyting fervor did not expect to accomplish much with the children of Islám; if he could not restore the true faith to a region in which it had been all but rooted out, he might in some degree respond to the prayers of the few oppressed and suffering Christians, who looked to him, as the champion of Christendom, for relief.[2] Thus, if he could accomplish no more, he

ce qu'il les eût faits Chrétiens, seule manière alors de les civiliser et de désarmer leur férocité ; refoulant au Sud les Sarrazins sans prétention de les soumettre, car il aurait fallu pousser jusqu'en Afrique ; s'arrêtant sagement à l'Ebre, il fonda, soutint, gouverna un empire immense, sans qu'on put l'accuser d'ambition désordonnée." — *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, XX. 787.

[1] "Le roi des Franks voulut saisir l'occasion de reculer sa frontière meridionale des Pyrénées jusqu'à l'Ebre, et d'abriter ainsi définitivement l'Aquitaine et la Septimanie contre les invasions Musulmanes." — H. Martin, *Histoire de France*, II. 270.

[2] "Les prières et les plaintes des Chrétiens qui étaient sous le joug des Sarrazins, et qui ne cessaient d'implorer les armes des Franks." — *Ib.*

could convert portions of Navarre, Catalonia, and Arragon, as far as the Ebro, into a *Spanish march*, or neutral ground, occupied by his own Arabian allies, who should be between him and the aspirations of the new Khalif, Abdu-r-rahmán, and whom he would protect in their loyalty to him and their disloyalty to their prince. Such is the philosophy which may be now evolved from the actions of this sagacious ruler.

A Spanish march.

The Champ de Mai at Paderborn was held in 777. The exact terms of his contract with the Arab sheiks are not known : they were of such a nature, however, as to warrant his preparations to march into Spain early in the spring of the next year, — 778.

The gigantic barrier of the Pyrenees is highest in the centre, and descends unevenly towards the Mediterranean, on the one side, and the Bay of Biscay on the other. Some of the central peaks, crowned most of the year with snow, are more than eleven thousand feet in height. Towards France and towards Spain, spurs and offsets of unequal height, enclosing valleys of every imaginable shape, are like crooked ribs from a dorsal column. On the French side, the descent is comparatively gentle : towards the Peninsula it is more precipitous.[1] The easiest routes from France to Spain are by the sea-coast at either end, through Irun, at the west, and Figueras at the east ; but a few passes along the range are practicable for the

[1] It is also to be observed that as the French have been the ravagers of Spain in all periods, the French communications are kept in good order, while on the Spanish side obstacles rather than facilities have been the rule.

movement, but not in any sense for the manœuvres, of armies. These are called in French *ports,* and in Spanish *puertos,* or gates.

The pass of Roncesvalles.

Chief among the western passes is that of Roncesvalles, so called from its Latin name, *Roscida vallis,* — the moist or dewy valley. It is in the ancient Vasconia (a name now corrupted into Gascony), a part of which even then began to be called Navarre.[1] The adjacent mountains and valleys were occupied by a fierce, composite people, of whom the predominating element was the Basques, who, sheltered by their topography, acknowledged neither the sway of Frank, Asturian, Spaniard, nor Arab-Moor, but made temporary alliances, prompted by their own interest, and easily broken with a Punic faith.

The pass of Roncesvalles has been a favorite one for advancing or retreating armies in modern history. In the parish church there hung, until the French Revolution, the barrier chains which guarded the tent of the Emperor of the Almohades, in the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. Through it the Black Prince marched in 1367 to the victory of Navarete. It was the route taken by Joseph Bonaparte, when the French troops under his command were defeated at Vittoria by Wellington in 1813. It was in this valley that Don Carlos was proclaimed king of Spain by Eraso in October, 1833.[2] The approach to it from France, which Charlemagne had determined upon, was not difficult.

[1] H. Martin, Histoire de France, II. 270.

[2] Ford's Handbook for Spain, II. 962.

Leaving the Landes and the Basses Pyrénées, he marched by the valley of the river Adour. A practicable mountain road leads through St. Jean Pied-de-Port into Valcarlos (the valley of Charles), in the centre of which "charming pastoral platform" is the hamlet of Roncesvalles. The pass lies at the foot of Mount Altabiscar and the Col de Ibañeta. Thence the road, descending into Spain, strikes the valley of the little river Chariagne, and stretches on to the city of Pampelona. The distance from St. Jean Pied-de-Port to the hamlet of Roncesvalles is about seventeen miles.

Leaving the other portions of his army to follow, Charlemagne had marched with one division to Chasseneuil, or Casseneuil, a small town on the river Lot, in the present department of Charente. The place is notable in the domestic story of the monarch, because he took with him in a litter his wife, Hildegarde, who was *enceinte*, and who was to await her confinement there. At Chasseneuil, he celebrated the Feast of the Resurrection, and remained until he was joined by the other contingents from Neustria and Aquitaine.

There he organized his army, and, having made careful provision for the comfort of his wife, with his accumulated forces he proceeded to cross the Pyrenees by the pass of Roncesvalles. Other small contingents crossed by the Eastern ports, principally as a precaution against treachery and counter-invasion, and joined the main body on the Spanish side.

Charlemagne goes through it into Spain.

To Abdu-r-rahmán, who received partial reports of

this network of treachery on the part of his own subjects of Saragossa, and of invasion by the greatest monarch of the age, the trouble from the North must have seemed of portentous character. The whole North was thus strengthened in opposition. The kingdom of Pelayo was extending its borders: inspired by their success at Covadonga, the Christians were moving cautiously down, and had succeeded in capturing several cities, among which were Lugo, Oporto (Porto hál), Zamora, Castille, and Segovia. Saragossa was in insurrection, and there was reason to fear that the Moslem conquest, not to speak of his own power, might be speedily reversed; and that Islám, so lately adventurous of establishment in Gaul, was destined to be driven back into Africa by the powerful Franks, or at least held to tribute in the seats of its latest glory and strength. As yet, however, he made no movement, but only awaited the turn of events. Knowing his sagacity, we suspect a good reason for this inaction.

It is difficult to disentangle the true narrative from the medley of legends and fancy. As far as it may be done, we find that Charlemagne reached Pampeluna without hindrance. Although in the hands of the Saracens, it was probably by prearrangement that it opened its gates, and promised allegiance or alliance to the Frankish monarch.

Reaches Pampeluna.

Marching thence to the southeast, he had not far to go before, unimpeded, he struck the valley of the Ebro, everywhere claiming allegiance and tribute from the towns on his route, and thus he approached Saragossa.[1]

And Saragossa.

[1] La Fuente says: "Talendo y devastando sus campos," but I see no reason for such devastation, unless it refers to the usual course

Having been joined by all his contingents, he deployed his forces on both banks of the river, around the city, and made known his readiness to receive the capitulation of the Wali.[1] So far from having any fear of resistance, he expected to be received with cheerful alacrity; but he found himself grievously mistaken. Between the visit of Ibn Al Arabi to Paderborn and the arrival of the Franks, many things had conspired to neutralize the promises and nullify the overtures which had been made. That chieftain himself seems to have repented of his mission when he saw the Franks approaching. The magnitude of the expedition, the ferocious appearance of the Franks, — perhaps their conduct at Pampeluna and the intervening towns, — and, above all, the fear lest, in escaping from the power of Abdu-r-rahmán, they might become the slaves of the Christians, had changed the views of the insurgents: the people called on their leaders to resist, and not to permit any portion of the realm conquered by Islám to fall again into Christian hands. The Walis of Huesca, Lerida, and other cities which had not given hostages, roused the inhabitants to repel the Franks; and, when Charlemagne arrived at Saragossa, the people of that city, joining in the

of an army in that day, whether friendly or hostile. Every reader of military history knows what devastation is made, even by friendly armies, in any territory through which they pass. The Franks were actuated by a spirit of plunder and cruelty, and were not likely long to want anything that fell in their way.

[1] Henri Martin, Histoire de France, II. 271. He also says: "Selon plusieurs chroniques frankes, le corps entré par les *ports* orientaux avait reçu, chemin faisant, les ôtages et les soumissions des Walis de Gironne et de Barcelonne."

general dissatisfaction at the presence of a powerful alien army, closed the gates, and resolutely refused to admit any of the Frankish troops.

The city of Saragossa,[1] with its fertile valley of the Ebro, might well assert claims in that chaotic period to a separate independence. It was the centre where many important roads met. It was not indeed then so great as it was soon to become; but it already had the control of more cities, towns, hamlets, and castles, than any other city of the Peninsula.[2] Its waters were plentiful and sweet. It had rich mines of pure, transparent salt; and, passing by the Arabian story that no scorpion could exist in its territory, we may believe that its grains were secure from mildew, and its wood from rot. Its capabilities at that time may be inferred from what it became afterwards in the hands of the Moors, when it was called *Ummu-l-kór*, the mother of provinces, and included in its dominion Lerida (the Roman Ilerda), Huesca, Calatrava, Tudela, Medina Celi, and many other circumjacent towns. For this rich domain, at the time of which I am writing, three parties were contending. Abdu-r-rahmán claimed it as a part of his Khalifate; Ibn Al Arabi and his party desired to make it an independent Mohammedan kingdom, with some hope, doubtless, of afterwards reducing the whole South in the interest of the Berbers, if successful; Charlemagne desired to constitute it a tributary province, in a neutral land, which should

The city of Saragossa.

[1] The site was that of Saluba of the Celtiberians. It was called *Cesarea Augusta*, after Augustus, who rebuilt it.

[2] Al Makkari, I. 64, 65.

strengthen his frontier, and enable him to develop his plans in Gaul, Germany, and Italy.

The change of sentiment which I have mentioned, and which was entirely unexpected, now rendered the situation of the Franks embarrassing in the extreme. Their number, manhood, and fierce valor were indeed equal to the emergency, but it was an emergency which they had not foreseen.

Expecting, on the contrary, a cordial reception, with ample supplies, cheerfully furnished to his army, he was in danger of being without provisions; and, however large his force, he was surrounded by more numerous enemies, some of them between him and his base of operations; and a mountain barrier, too, lay between. Manifestly, the best thing was to get back to France as soon as possible.

Charlemagne's disappointment.

He did not desire war; he could not afford to lose his troops; it was humiliating to his pride to think of retiring as he came, without any arrangement. The three alternatives were, — to retire, to fight, or to compel a negotiation. He attempted the last, and the most that he could obtain was a subsidy, and an acknowledgment of nominal protection, which meant nothing as soon as he should cross the Pyrenees again. The Arab-Moors were not desirous to fight or crush him, but only desirous to lay the fierce spirit they had invoked, and still retain something of his protection when needed. Thus, receiving their tribute, such as it was, keeping up a bold front in this dangerous emergency, and even demanding and taking some hostages for the performance of their promises, he began his retrograde

march, which was further hastened by the intelligence of new and portentous risings among the Saxons. The dangers at the North were far more serious than any menaces which might follow him from Saragossa.[1] His tireless arm must deal at once with these Saxon insurgents.

Disappointed in his hopes, he returned to Pampeluna, and, either to vent his spleen upon the unresisting city, or to take away all power from a stronghold nearest to his dominions which might give him trouble, he razed its walls to the ground. It has been asserted that he had not been admitted into Pampeluna without a struggle when he entered Spain; and there is extant a medal, with the motto, *Capta excisaque Pampelona.* This was struck in the same year, after his return to France; and I prefer to think that it refers to the extinction of the defences of Pampeluna on his return march, for which the reason has been already given, and which would comport more causally with his mental irritation.

It may be supposed that he sent some detachments back into France by other passes; it is certain, however, that the main body set out under his own command to cross the Pyrenees by the pass of Roncesvalles.

[1] He made a campaign against the Saxons in that same year, 778.

CHAPTER III.

THE "DOLOROUS ROUT" OF RONCESVALLES.

IN accosting the event which we have now reached in the narrative, the historical student finds himself suddenly entering a region of romance, so filled with miraculous stories, enchanted personages, confusing sounds, and impossible performances, that he starts back, in doubt whether it contains any history at all. If he pursue his way, he is in great danger of sharing, if not the madness of Don Quixote, at least the poetic frenzies of the Morgante, the Orlando Innamorato, and the Orlando Furioso. Angelica, Agramont, and Ganelon contest the field with Roland, Rinaldo, and Bernardo del Carpio; and, if he thinks he achieves a victory in espousing the cause of the latter group, he soon finds to his sorrow that they are all mythic, or at the least legendary, alike. Indeed, in one sense *las lagrimas de Angelica*, which could move the good curate in Don Quixote to tears, have a more veritable power than the *hazañas* and *hechos* of the invincible Bernardo. She is at least true to nature in her weeping: he is the hero of magic, which has not even a foundation in nature.[1] And unfortunately

The romantic legend.

[1] There is no more fictitious personage, even in Spanish fiction. See "Historia de las hazañas y hechos del invencible cavallero,

Roland, the nominal hero of Roncesvalles, is scarcely less unreal. The truth is, that the real personages have been given over by history to legend, and have again been blindly received into history; so that to go back beyond the false story and the wild fable to find what still exists of truth with regard to them is an almost hopeless task. The real men have been spirited away, and may not be reclaimed; but the principal events, at least, have left a simple and uneffaceable record, which may easily be found. I shall present an outline of the historic features, and gather what I can from the fables, fearing at every step lest I may fall into the power of the sirens, as hundreds of those who have gone before me have done.

With due precaution, not to burden the pass with numbers, Charlemagne, on returning to it, had divided his main body into two corps. The first, which he commanded in person, marched without *impedimenta;* but the second, a rear-guard, smaller in numbers, under the direction of the paladin Roland, followed at a considerable distance, — as the sequel proved, too great an interval, — and guarded the baggage and the treasures, — "a great weight of gold,"[1] the tribute not only of Saragossa, but of Pampeluna and many other towns, besides the irregular booty of a fierce alien

The return through Roncesvalles.

Bernardo del Carpio; par Agustin Alonzo. Toledo, 1585. I should perhaps except the episode of Bernardo's submission that he might release his imprisoned father, and his hopeless grief when he received his dead body. This certainly is a glimpse of nature amid the lurid gleams of martial fiction.

[1] La Fuente, Historia de España, III. 136.

army, whose training in that respect had been in the often devastated fields of Aquitania, and whose rule was to plunder friend and foe alike.

The first division defiled slowly and without the shadow of hinderance through the port of Ibañeta, and descended into the valley of the Nive. The second was to bear the brunt of a terrible disaster, but at the hands of what enemy?

Upon this point there has been much contention; and, after it all, we must rest more upon inference than statistics. In some of the legends we find that the attacking party was "the king of Saragossa and his men." We may readily believe that a party to the ambush was composed of the inhabitants of Pampeluna, the city *capta excisaque*, who were taking their revenge. It cannot be positively known, but there was probably a contingent from the new Hispano-Gothic kingdom, which Pelayo had established in the Northeast, who had heard stories of an alliance between the king of the Franks and the Moslems; but the strongest element in the combination, if combination there were, was that of the Gascons of France and Spain, who were constantly nursing their wrath against the Franks, and who now found an opportunity for vengeance.[1] They were fierce, vain, and independent, and had constantly suffered from Frankish incursions. They all claimed nobility: every man was a *hidalgo*. It does not appear that there was any great concert of action among

Who opposed it.

[1] H. Martin says (Histoire de France, II. 272): "C'étaient les Gascons de l'Espagne et de Gaule. Toutes les haines amassées dans le cœur des Escaldunac s'étaient reveillées avec fureur," etc.

these dissimilar elements and interests; but the great fact of Charlemagne's march was known to them all, and each party had time to digest its own scheme for harassing the common enemy. Such seems to me the truth of the matter, which has been so curiously contested in later times, when the question of to whom the *glory* should belong arose in history. National vanity cares little for truth: if the facts interfere, so much the worse for the facts. The Spaniards, as a nation, have appropriated to themselves the honor of defeating the great king at Roncesvalles; the Moors have always claimed it; and a French writer, rudely setting both claims aside, asserts that "the French of the Seine were conquered by the French of the Adour and the Garonne!"

But whatever forces *followed* and gathered upon the rear of the second division, there is little doubt as to the men who prepared the ambuscade. Quietly, and entirely without the knowledge of the advancing hosts, the Gascons had agreed to rendezvous upon the top and sides of Mont Altabiscar and the adjacent heights, concealing themselves from the enemy. The first corps, which was lightly equipped, they permitted to pass; but the second corps, larger and incumbered with the baggage, was a more desirable as well as an easier prey, and the treasures which they guarded awoke the cupidity of the Gascons. This second corps had entered the pass, and was winding slowly through along the narrow defile which skirts the foot of Mont Altabiscar, in the most careless security, entirely ignorant of the proximity of a single enemy. It was composed of the

The second division.

flower of the Frankish chivalry, and officered by the noblest of the *leudes*, and those to whom their station in the palace near the king had given the name of *paladins*, men of family pride and warlike renown. We may safely say that they were the stoutest soldiers and the best-appointed men of war of that age, and have presented a typical chivalry to the later ages.

An unseen foe.

Suddenly a thousand horns ring out their blatant peals from the mountain slopes; the train halts without command; the knights grasp lance and sword to encounter a living foe; but instead of men they see an avalanche pouring down upon them, — huge rocks, torn from the earth-grasp of ages, trunks and branches of trees, — and clouds of arrows, literally filling the intervening spaces. Those who are not at once crushed or pierced fly back to the rear, and choke the narrow pass; but they can find no place of safety or shelter. A few escape to the rear to find themselves fiercely attacked, but the men in the great mass tread each other down. Still the terrible shower pours upon them from above; the unrelenting storm comes furiously down, utterly defying human strength and lordly prowess. Even their armor, which would insure victory in the open field, is here only an element of destruction. The heavy, iron-plated Northern horses cannot manœuvre; helmets, hauberks, heavy axes, long lances, are but a hinderance and embarrassment; strength in fetters, activity without scope.[1]

[1] "Embarrassés par leurs heaumes, leurs hauberts, leurs pesantes haches et leurs longues lances." — H. MARTIN, *Histoire de France*, II. 272.

When the consternation and destruction have made them helpless, upon the bleeding and jumbled mass the Gascon mountaineers leap lightly down, and pierce the falling and the fallen with their sharp boar-spears and javelins. All fear of resistance being thus removed, they pounce greedily upon the baggage-train, possess themselves of the treasure, and fly back, laden with the coveted spoils, to the mountain fastnesses.

Utter destruction of the second corps.

Their work has been thoroughly done. It needs no inventive fancy to portray the sights and sounds of the gloomy night which is now settling upon the field. The *arrière garde* of the Frankish army has been destroyed; if we may trust the chronicle, they have perished to a man.[1] The silence of the fatal field is only broken by the doleful music of the dying groans. Gentle and simple lie mingled without distinction. It has been called the "dolorous rout" of Roncesvalles, but the routed were rescued from flight by death.

The only contemporary account is that of Eginhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, and author of the "Annales des Francs." In his very brief reference to the disaster, he enumerates, as among the many distinguished men who fell, Eggihard, major-domo of the king; Anselmo, count of the palace, and Roland, prefect of the marches of Brittany.[2]

[1] "Usque ad unum omnes interficiunt." — *Chronicon Silense España Sagrada*, 17, 272.

[2] Vita Caroli Magni, ch. ix. "In quo prœlio Eghartus Regiæ mensæ præpositus, Anshelmus comes Palatii, et Rutlandus Britannici limitis præfectus, cum aliis compluribus, interficiuntur. Neque

The suddenness of the attack, and the rapidity of the carnage, made it impossible for Charlemagne to succor them. The Spanish poems upbraid him for not doing so: but, before he could have returned, the whole mischief had been wrought; the rear-guard was annihilated; and the Gascons had escaped with their spoils, and were hidden from all hope of discovery in their mountain retreats. He waited only long enough to verify the sad intelligence, and then turned with a heavy heart northward to check the insurgent Saxons. At Chasseneuil he stopped for a few days, where we may suppose that he found a slight solace in the fact that his queen had been safely delivered of a son, who was to figure in the later history as Louis le Debonnaire.

Such is a sketch of the simple history; we may turn to consider very briefly the legendary aspect of the story. The chief source of these legends in modern times is a work entitled "De Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi," the authorship of which has been erroneously attributed to Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims, and is supposed to have been written during the life of Charlemagne. It is, however, manifestly of a later day, — probably of the

Life of Charlemagne by Turpin.

hoc factum ad præsens vindicari poterat, quia hostis, re perpetrata, ita dispersus est ut ne fama quidem remaneret ubinam gentium quæri potuisset." The *Vita* of Eginhard is a bright spot in the obscure legends of the period. He was a real character, as the abbot of Seligstadt, but there is no proof whatever that he was the son-in-law of Charlemagne. The passage referred to is the only one found in any historian which mentions the celebrated Roland, who plays so dominant a part in the Carlovingian epics. Roland is *supposed* to have been the son of Milo, Count of Angiers, and Bertha, the sister of Charlemagne.

eleventh century, — and it contains marvels so prodigious and disconnected, that they lose their force even as allegories.[1] From the legend sprang numerous ballads sung in court and camp and village, tales of romance, ponderous heroic poems. The real plot was striking enough, and the warrior of greatest name became the hero. Everything centres around Roland.

Roland, or Orlando.

The knights of the Round Table of Arthur were eclipsed by the twelve peers of Charlemagne, of whom Roland was the knightliest: an astounding career was created for him. His love-passages were, in a later day, celebrated by Bojardo in his "Orlando Innamorato;" his madness, brought on by unrequited affection, is the burden of Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso," with an invention so original, in the poet's opinion, that nothing like it had appeared in prose or rhyme before.[2]

His name and fame are perpetuated in places and in flowers. From his helmet, a flower of the locality is

[1] "De Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi Historia, Joanni Turpin, Archiepiscopo Rimensi, vulgo tributa." The real archbishop died in the year 800, — fourteen years before Charlemagne. Literary criticism has established the probable date of the book as between 1090 and 1120. This work was first translated from Latin into French in 1206, at the instance of Renaud, Count of Boulogne. It is short, containing only eighty pages.

[2] "Dirô d' Orlando, in un medesmo tratto
Cosa non detta in prosa mai nè in rima."
Orlando Furioso, I. 2.

Fauriel says (Histoire de la Poésie Provençale, English Abridgment, p. 275): "I cannot but regard the pretended chronicle of Turpin as a sort of interpolation and monkish amplification in bad Latin of certain popular ballads, in the vulgar idiom, on Charlemagne's descent on Spain."

called *la casque de Roland*. The notes of his wonderful ivory horn reverberate powerfully through more than a cycle, and the faint echoes may yet be heard in the Basque country. Dante alludes to its fabled power, and at the same time to the crusade-like character of Charlemagne's march against the infidel, when, speaking of the terrible sound in his "Inferno," he uses it as the most forcible illustration: —

> "Dopo la dolorosa rotta, quando
> Carlo Magno perdè la *santa* gesta
> Non sonò sì terribilmente Orlando." [1]

One story is that he sounded so loud a note that he burst the veins of his neck. Another account tells how, with his famous sword, Durandart, or Durandal, at one blow he severed a mountain in two, without marring the edge, and then he broke his sword that it might never again be wielded by human hand. According to still another version, he threw Durandart with superhuman strength, and cleft the rock in twain.[2] Shepherds still show the ineffaceable mark of his horse's iron shoes where a horse could only climb in romantic legend.

It has been justly said that Charlemagne is not more truly the greatest personage in the history of the age, than is Roland the greatest hero of its romance: it may be added that in a certain way the renown of the great monarch has been somewhat

[1] Divina Commedia, Inferno, 31, 6. I believe this to be the origin of the phrase "dolorous rout."

[2] I prefer the causality of the latter account, for the Brèche de Roldan is more than fifty miles from Roncesvalles. It lies near the foot of Mount Perdu, and is reached in direct route from Tarbes by the Gave de Pau and Gavarnes.

eclipsed by the popularity of his legendary nephew. The vivacious Mediterranean nature, from that day to this, has been fired again and again to deeds of valor by the contemplation of his unearthly prowess. The wonderful story spread from south to north all over France. It was a part of the Norman training. It was to the song of Roland, written by Theroulde in the eleventh century,[1] that the jongleur Taillefer advanced to certain death on the field of Senlac, in the van of William the Conqueror.[2]

Real remains of this event.

The question naturally arises, whether nothing more real than these legends remains in that locality to mark the spot and scene of the curious battle, and thus to bear historic witness to its reality. In the *Collegiata* of Our Lady of Roncesvalles, founded by Sancho Sanchez, of Navarre (*el Fuerte*, the Strong), about the year 1200, there were said to be great sepulchres of stone, containing human bones, maces, lance-heads, and other remains,

[1] Published among the "Chansons de Roland," by Francisque Michel, to whom we are also indebted for the "Chronica Rimada de las Cosas de España;" covering the space from the death of Pelayo to Ferdinand the Great. See Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature, I. 23. There are many Spanish "Orlandos," — some original, and others versions of the Italian, — "Orlando el Amante," "Orlando Determinado," etc. — *Ib.* II. 477, note.

[2] The fact is vouched for by Wace, William of Malmesbury, and, indeed, most of the historians. Guy of Amiens calls him "incisor ferri;" and in the Roman de Rou we have the lines: —

"Devant li Dus alout cantant
De Karlemanie è de Rolant
E d'Oliver è des vassals
Ki moururent en Renchevals."

which tradition, not without a decent show of logical consistency, assigns to this fatal field.[1]

The great historic event, however, needs no such corroboration: it is sufficiently substantiated by undeniable authorities,—French, Christian, Spanish, and Arabian. But, amid the confusion of the legends, it is very satisfactory and pleasing to find, among the Basque songs commemorative of the battle, one which, for simple naturalness, for fidelity to the spirit of the age, and to the character and *animus* of the contending parties, is very striking and very refreshing. Beyond the middle realm of fable upon which rest the shadows of heavy clouds, we are taken back into a region clearly disclosed by the sunlight of truth. If, as is probable, it was written in the Basque language in the *ninth* century, it seems certain that it was a spontaneous utterance, at the very time of the "dolorous rout;" and had been sung, like the classical poems, and transmitted from mouth to mouth, until it came into its present written form. It is called the "Altabizaren Cantua," and stands distinguished from all the other ballads and songs by its lack of miracle and its eminent air of truth.[2]

"Altabizaren Cantua."

[1] Tradition, however, should be rigorously scrutinized. In 1794, a pillar which had long stood to mark the spot of Charlemagne's defeat, was pulled down by commissioners of the French Republic, and the parish church was pillaged, "where long had hung the identical chains which guarded the Moorish chief's tent at Las Navas de Tolosa, and through which Sancho el Fuerte broke."—*Ford's Hand-Book*, II. 961. The military history of Roncesvalles is so full of recurrences, that it would be difficult to identify the exact period of any remains found there.

[2] La Fuente gives the original Basque, and a prose translation in Spanish; and Henri Martin publishes, in the "Eclaircissements" of his second volume, Montglave's translation in French.

It fully vindicates the assertion of La Fuente that, among the war-songs which have immortalized that famous combat, it is notable for its energetic simplicity, its air of primitive rudeness, its spirit of impassioned patriotism, and of rustic and fiery independence.[1] The reader can hardly judge of its full value by the following English translation, which cannot exhibit the singular verbal power of the Basque chant, with its very effective diphthongal utterances; but the dramatic force is easily preserved. Indeed, no translation could affect that. It is essentially a drama, in spirit and in form.

THE SONG OF ALTABIZAR.

I.

A cry has gone forth
From the midst of the mountains of the Escaldunacs,
And the Etcheco-Jaona,[2] standing before his door,
Opens his ear and says, "Who goes there? What do you want?"
And the dog who was sleeping at the feet of his master,
Springs up and makes the environs of Altabizar resound with his barking.

II.

From the hill Ibañeta a noise resounds;
It approaches rumbling along the rocks from the right and from the left.

[1] "Entre los cantos de guerra que han inmortalizado aquel famoso combate, es notable por su energica sencillez, por su aire de primitiva rudeza, por su espiritu de apasionado patriotismo, de agreste y fogosa independencia . . . el de 'Altabizaren Cantua.'" — *Historia de España*, III. 139.

[2] Mountain-husbandman, or independent farmer. Victor Hugo uses the term in "L'Homme qui Rit:" "Etcheco-Jaona signifie *laboureur de la montagne.*"

It is the dull hum of an army which is coming ;
Our men have heard it from the summit of the mountain ;
They have sounded their horns,
And the Etcheco-Jaona sharpens his arrows.

III.

They are coming, they are coming, what a hedge of lances !
How the parti-colored banners are dancing in their midst !
What flashes are glinting from their arms !
How many are they ? Boy, count them well ;
One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine,
Ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen,
Sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty.

IV.

Twenty, and still there are thousands behind :
It is but lost time to count them,
Let us unite our strong arms, let us root up the rocks,
Let us hurl them from the mountain-top
Upon their heads !
Let us crush them ! let us slay them !

V.

And what business have they in our mountains, those men in the North ?
Why have they come to disturb our peace ?
When God made mountains, they were not for men to cross.
But the rocks roll and fall ; they crush whole battalions ;
Blood is spurting, flesh is quivering ;
Oh ! how many pounded bones ! what a sea of blood !

VI.

Fly, fly, all ye who have strength and a horse !
Fly, King Karloman, with thy black plumes and red cape !
Thy nephew, thy bravest, thy beloved, Roland, lies dead below ;
His valor could not serve him.
And now, Escaldunac, leave the rocks,
Let us descend quickly, pouring our arrows into those who flee.

VII.

They fly ! they fly ! where is now the hedge of lances ?
Where are the party-colored banners dancing in their midst ?
Light flashes no longer from their arrows soiled with blood.
How many are they ? boy, count them well !
Twenty, nineteen, eighteen, seventeen, sixteen,
Fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, twelve, eleven, ten,
Nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, one.

VIII.

One ! There is not even one !
It is done ! Etcheco-Jaona, you may go in with your dog,
And embrace your wife and children:
Clean your arrows, lock them up with your horn, and then go to bed and sleep.
To-night the eagles will come and eat the broken flesh,
And all these bones shall be whitening forever.

Although the battle in the pass of Roncesvalles was chiefly between the Franks and the Gascons, it has been here described, because, as has been said, it is very probable that a contingent of Saracens was engaged in it; but principally because of its immediate connection with the fortunes of the Moslemah in the north of Spain. It was conceived in rebellion and ended in treachery.

The Spanish marches established.

It had, however, for indirect issue, the establishment of the Spanish march, which was to put a stop to the northern progress of the Arab-Moors, and even curtail their dominion; and it was a subject of continual concern to Abdu-r-rahmán and his successors, by giving both direct and indirect aid to the Christians in the Northwest. The name "Spanish march" was given by Charlemagne to the country he had under his partial control on both sides

of the Pyrenees. It was divided into two parts, — on the west, the march of Gascony, with Pampeluna as its capital; and on the east, the march of Gothia or Septimania, upon which were impressed the "precepts" of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, and which has thus been more French than Spanish in its character ever since.[1] While it secured the Franks from incursions through the mountain passes, it left that region a theatre for the intrigues and quarrels of Moslems and Gascons, and thus indirectly protected his southern frontier,[2] which was, after all, his chief concern.

We cannot attach much importance to the brief and general statement of Al Makkari, that Charles sent an embassy to Abdu-r-rahmán, offering him peace, and soliciting his alliance by marriage, which the Amir's bodily ailment rendered impossible. One thing seems certain. The lesson of Roncesvalles was so severe, that the Frankish monarch did not venture, if he had intended, another expedition into Spain, until the year 796, eight years after the death of Abdu-r-rahmán.[3]

[1] "Naturalmente los que con mayores fuerzas y mas poder concurrian á lanzar de aquella parte del suelo español y á libertar sus poblaciones del dominio musulman, habian de imprimir al nuevo estado franco-hispano el sello de sus costumbres, de sus leyes, de su organizacion y de su nomenclatura. Los preceptos de Carlo Magno y de Luis el Pio, si bien generoso y protectores de los Españoles, comunicaban á aquella marca ó estado todo el tinto gallo-franco de su origen." — LA FUENTE, *Historia de España*, III. 233.

[2] "Le roi des Franks voulut saisir l'occasion de reculer sa frontière meridionale des Pyrénées jusqu'à l'Ebre, et d'abriter ainsi définitivement l'Aquitaine et la Septimanie, contre les invasions musulmanes." — HENRI MARTIN, *Histoire de France*, II. 270.

[3] I append, in the original Basque, the third and eighth stanzas

of the *Cantua*, as a specimen of the rhetorical power and oral effects of the language: —

III.

Herdurida! herdurida! ¿ Cerlantzazco sasia
¿ Nola cernahi colorezco banderas hoï en erdian agertcendiren!
¿ Cersinuitac at herat cendiren hoï en armetaric!
¿ Ceubat dira? Haurza, condaïtçac ongi!
Bat, bïia, hirur, lau, bortz, sei, zatpi, sortzi, bederatzi, hamar, hameca, hamabi,
Hamahirur, hamalaii, hamabort, hamasei, hamazazpi, hemeçortzi, hemeretsi hogoï.

VIII.

¿ Bat! Ezta bihiric ageri gihïiago,
¿ Akhaboda! Etcheco-jaona, inaïten ahaltcia çure Macurrarekin.
Zure emaztiaren, eta çure haurren bezarcat cerat,
Zure darden garbitcerat eta alchatcerat çure tuntekin etagero heüen gaïnian et çatçat eta lociteat,
Gabaz arrchanuac ienendira haragi pusca leherta horien iaterat
Eta hezur horiec oro zuritu codira eternitatean.

By reading this aloud, the strength of the *Cantua* will be found greatly increased.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SUCCESSFUL ADMINISTRATION OF ABDU-R-RAHMAN I.

WE may now return to the events that were occurring among Abdu-r-rahmán's own people; which kept him in continual activity, and gave him constant concern. No sooner was one revolt put down than another burst forth, taxing his judgment and power to the utmost. There are few of them of special importance, and most of them need only a bare mention, as testifying to his greatness in putting them down.

Revolts in the empire.

Not a year had elapsed since the battle at Roncesvalles,[1] when Suleyman Ibn Al Arabi, with Al Huseyn Ibn Yahya, — both claiming for their own purposes to be of the faction of the Abbasides, — rose in arms against Abdu-r-rahmán, and declared Saragossa and its Comarca independent. In a quarrel between them, however, Ibn Al Arabi was assassinated, and Huseyn remained the sole defiant traitor.

The Khalif lost no time in marching to find Huseyn in his stronghold. He first sent his lieutenant Ghálib

[1] Al Makkari makes the mistake of placing this event in the year 157 (A. D. 773). It was in 779. See notes 19 and 20, Vol. II. pp. 420, 421. Many of these events are related in the manner of a *raconteur*, and, as to dates, are almost as vague as the "once upon a time" of modern story-tellers.

to besiege him in Saragossa, but the insurgents were so vigorous that the war was carried on for a considerable period without decided results. When Huseyn sent a large detachment to attack the Amir himself, the measure of his impertinence was full. Abdu-r-rahmán marched against him in person, taking in his train thirty-six *manjanik*, or war-engines, with which to batter the place.

He was animated by a relentless and fiery spirit. This rebellion had frustrated his favorite and long-cherished plan of carrying the war into Syria, and avenging the wrongs of his race on the soil where they had been received. He would drag the Abbasides from the throne they had so cruelly usurped, and restore the single Khalifate, whose rule should be over the world, in his own person.

The defeat of this plan he would visit on the head of Huseyn, whose rebellion had made it, at least for the time, impracticable. The aspect of the war was suddenly changed by the vigor of his movements. He took Saragossa by storm, and put the archrebel to death. As he marched, in his anger he had taken an oath that he would also expel all the inhabitants from the city. He kept his vow, and for a space none but his own soldiers occupied it. A considerable time afterwards he permitted the people to return.[1]

From the storm of Saragossa, he marched to Pampeluna, and thence, with curious steps, to the scene of the rout of Roncesvalles. He did not pass the mountains, but rested there for a brief space, as if in defiance of all his northern neighbors. He then pro-

[1] An-nuwayri, quoted by Gayangos, II. 421, note 20.

ceeded to restore, or confirm, his authority in Gerona, Barcelona, and Tortosa; and thus impressing and pacifying the people and towns in the valley of the Ebro, he returned to Cordova in triumph, but only to meet a new emergency. This northern expedition did not effect, however, a reconquest of the debatable land: he never afterwards could claim the Spanish march as indisputably under his government. It was at best but a *march* or neutral frontier, for both France and Spain, the philosophy of which we have already considered.

The new emergency to which I have just referred was a rising in Algeçiras, the exact date of which cannot be fixed, but which was instigated by Hasan Ibn Abdu-l-aziz, and threatened the southern communications of the Khalif. It was, however, speedily put down; and its ringleader, fearing the vengeance of the monarch, took ship and sailed for the East.

The confusion of the factions was at its height. Besides the still existing, but ever-waning conflict between the parties of the white and black banners, the Ommeyades and Abbasides, there remained, among the men of station, the strife for supremacy between the Modharites, to whom Abdu-r-rahmán belonged, and the men of Yemen, — tribes, each of which had its traditions, both Arabian and Spanish, and its aspirations for supreme power. The men of Yemen still cherished the memory of Yúsuf Al Fehrí, and looked with hope to his sons, who were still living.[1] But

[1] For the principal rebellions of the Yemenites, from the beginning, see Al Makkari, II. 421, note 22. They were that of Zoreyk Al-ghosáni, at Algeçiras, involving Sidonia and Seville, in 760;

the strongest element of disorder was found in the rival claims of the Arabians and Syrians on the one hand, and the Berbers on the other, — the former having the prestige of the original conquest, and being boastful of their lineage; the latter excelling in numbers and in energy.

The policy of the chief was admirable. He would merge and neutralize these differences by collecting and maintaining a large army, which, secure of his favor and pay, would be in readiness to make head against any faction, and rally around his throne. To this end he gradually ceased his communications with the Arabian chiefs, and surrounded himself with slaves and clients from among the common people, whom he attached to his person by kind treatment and gifts. He sent officers over into Africa to enlist Berbers there, who could have little interest in the traditional quarrels, and so well did he treat them that others were always ready to follow. Thus he had an effective force of forty thousand men always in hand to crush revolts, or to be the standing nucleus of larger armies, for any considerable expedition, or in case of foreign war. This force he was able later to increase to one hundred thousand.

Abdu-r-rahmán creates a standing army.

And here we must pause for a moment to present very briefly the fortunes of the sons of Yúsuf Al Fehrí, who displayed a constancy in the cause of their family which is among the most strik-

The sons of Yúsuf.

that of Hisham, a cousin of Yúsuf, in 761, at Toledo, which lasted several years; that of Sahid Al Yahssobi, in 765, at Niebla, which was continued after the death of Sahid.

ing and interesting considerations of these troublous times and exceedingly confused history. The eldest son, we have seen, fell in battle, after his father's death, fighting valiantly against Temám Ibn Al Kámah, in the Comarca of Toledo.[1] The second son, Mohammed Abul Aswad, was left behind when his partisans escaped from the after siege of Toledo, and was made prisoner by Bédr, the mauli of Abdu-r-rahmán, in the year 763. Through the clemency of the monarch, his life was spared, but he was confined for many years in one of the towers of Cordova. Here his story is so decked in Arabian romance that its details must be received with the usual allowance.[2] By his cheerful and harmless deportment, he so gained the good-will of his keepers, that they relaxed their caution, and trusted him even to leave his prison, on the promise of return. Further to deceive his guardians, he feigned blindness. It seems hardly credible that for eighteen years, as is asserted, he maintained this delusion; and that, in the year 781, when he had concerted with the still active adherents of his father, he escaped from his prison and placed himself at their head. The monarch seems to have had misgivings of this evasion, and expressed his fears as to the result.[3] The blind man escaped, swam across the river, and raised the standard of Al Fehri, around

[1] Condé I., part ii. ch. xi.

[2] I have taken this account from La Fuente, who does not give his authority for its details.

[3] "Cuando el emir supo la evasion del creido ciego, exclamo: 'Temo mucho que la fuga de este ciego nos haya de causar no poca inquietud y efusion de sangre.'" — LA FUENTE, *Historia de España*, III. 146.

which at once rallied six thousand warriors. With this army he took possession of the sierras of Segura and Cazorla.[1]

Synchronous with this movement, and in concert with it, Kásim, the third son, who had escaped from Toledo, had appeared as if by magic, and was recruiting a force to aid his brother in the Comarca of Ronda.

But the energy and dash of Abdu-r-rahmán were more than equal to this new emergency. Directing his Walis to gather their contingents in haste, he put himself without delay at the head of his cavalry, and marched upon Abul Aswad. But that chief had so entrenched himself in the fastnesses of the Sierras, that he could not be reached or drawn out. He was thus able to weary the troops of the Amir during three years of desultory warfare, until famine began to pinch, while a levy *en masse* of the king's troops shut them up in their mountain retreat without hope of escape. In a council of his leaders, their fortunes were discussed. Many deserters had gone into the king's camp, and been kindly received; and so some of the chiefs proposed that they should surrender to his clemency. The alternative was to leave their position and accept battle.

It was now the year 784; the undisciplined bands came down from the mountains, and eagerly rushed upon the enemy, but they were soon cut to pieces, or put to flight in every direction: more than four thousand lay dead upon the plain.

Abul Aswad again escaped; and we have, from an

[1] In the present province of Jaen, and about forty miles east of the city of Jaen.

Arabian writer, a touching narrative of his lonely wanderings; his adherents had almost all deserted him; and he moved about in the Sierra Morena by day and night, in thickets and in caves; into Coria, thence to Alarcon, "like a famished wolf."[1] Thus leading a concealed remnant of life, he died, soon after, an obscure death.

The flight of Abul Aswad, and the destruction of his army, left the task of filial vengeance to Kásim, the third son of Yúsuf, who had fallen back to the Serrania de Ronda, and still made head against Abdu-r-rahmán. Not to dwell upon the details, nor to estimate his chances of success, it is sufficient to know that he was suddenly captured, with Hafila, — a bold rebel who had escaped with the remnant of Cazorla, — by Abdullah, the son of Marsilius, who, if the account be true, had, many years before, been the chief instrument in the capture and execution of his father Yúsuf. Hafila was at once put to death by his captor, but the more illustrious prisoner was brought in chains to Abdu-r-rahmán at Denia, where the welcome news of his arrest found him.

Two years had elapsed since the overthrow of his brother, and the cause in which they had struggled so long was now dead. With no remains of his former boldness, he threw himself at the feet of his conqueror, kissing the ground in token of final submission. It might have been thought that, with the last representative and the last hope of the Fehrites in his power, the long-injured monarch would

[1] "Como hambriento lobo, dice un autor arabigo." — LA FUENTE, *Historia de España*, III. 148.

have destroyed the faction forever by ordering the immediate execution of Kásim; but the historian is called upon to eulogize an act of clemency more praiseworthy than the valor or the patience he had so long displayed. Little known as it is, it deserves to be ranked among the great magnanimities of history.

He ordered his chains to be removed, and gave him lands and a pension at Seville commensurate with his former station. It is pleasant to record that, on this occasion at least, the clemency was not misplaced. The last remaining son of Yúsuf became the faithful friend and adherent of his generous conqueror.

The clemency of the prince.

During the five years of this war against the sons of Yúsuf, Abdu-r-rahmán had been almost constantly in the field. He had made tours of inspection through Estremadura and Lusitania. In all the principal cities, he had established mosques and public schools. He had visited Zamora, Astorga, and Avila, — towns on the border-land which had been seized and then abandoned by the rising Christian kingdom in the Northwest, — and had passed some time at Toledo, where his eldest son Abdullah had been installed as governor.

But when, at the close of the war, he entered Cordova with Kásim as his prisoner, the enthusiasm of the people knew no bounds: he seemed to have a second time conquered his kingdom. The thirty years' war against the faction of Yúsuf was at end, and he might hope for a peaceful time in which he could embellish his domain and cultivate the humaner

studies which would give lustre to his reign. For this, however, he was to have but little remaining time before he should be summoned to his grave. Brief as it was, however, it was extremely busy and fruitful of results to the later history of his dynasty.

We have seen that immediately upon his accession to power, he had, like his predecessors, chosen Cordova as his capital. There he established his simple court; and, in the year 767, he began to build, or rebuild, the walls of his capital.[1]

His labors of peace.

It contained some relics of Roman art; and the stately buildings of the Gothic monarchs had not yet disappeared. The *Balatt Ludheric*, or palace of Roderik, suggested their luxurious living; and the powerful prince, still sensitive to the memories of a happy and splendid youth in Syria before his proscription and exile, determined to make his capital, the seat of his new dynasty, — in oriental splendor, in its mosques, palaces, and gardens, — not only the equal, but the successful rival of Damascus.

He had thus early begun to build the Rissáfah, a splendid palace to the north of Cordova, in imitation of that built by his grandfather Hisham, at Damascus. He enclosed it with magnificent gardens, in which he planted exotics from every clime; he

[1] "Anno CL. qui cœpit, Annales Chronicon, 767, Feb. 5, struxit Abdor Rahmán, Omajjades, Moslemorum in Andalusia princeps mœnia Corthobæ." — ABULFEDA, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 149. The building of these walls continued for the greater part of his reign. — AL MAKKARI, II. 87.

brought water to it from a distant mountain, and made it an enchanted spot, *Munyatu-r-rissáfah* (the pleasure gardens of the Rissáfah). He introduced for the first time the peach and the pomegranate into Spain, the latter of which has curiously identified itself with southern Spain, as if of indigenous growth, by figuring chiefly in the canting arms of Granada, to which some persons think it has given the name.[1]

Among his importations of foreign plants and flowers was a single palm-tree from Syria, which he planted with his own hands in the garden of the palace: it is said to have called forth some touching and beautiful verses, which we may fear, in passing through many hands, have not come to us as he uttered them. The palm-tree, not indigenous in Spain, was the glory and comfort of the East!

A memento of his old home.

"Seeing, one day," says Al Makkari, "at Seville, a solitary palm-tree, which brought to his recollection the place of his birth in Syria, and the friends he had left there, he exclaimed, in a fit of irrepressible sorrow, —

1. "'O palm-tree, like myself, thou art alone in this land; thou also art away from thy kindred.
2. Thou weepest, and closest the calix of thy flowers.
   Why? dost thou lament the generating seed
   Scattered on the mountains?'
3. 'Yes, I do; for, although they all take root in a congenial soil like that watered by the Euphrates,
4. Yet orphans are they all; since the Bení Abbás have driven me away from my family.'"

[1] The city arms are: a pomegranate stalked and proper, *Granada*. Mr. Marsh refers it to the *granun*, or grain-like insect which gives a crimson color. I find in the Arabic forms *Garnatha* and *Karnattah* a more probable oriental origin for the name.

The four verses preserved by Ibnu Hayyán are quite different: —

1. "In the centre of the Rissáfah grows a palm-tree, born in the West, away from the country of the palm-trees.
2. I once exclaimed: 'Thou art like me, for thou resemblest me in wandering and peregrination, and the long separation from relatives and friends.
3. Thou (also) didst grow in a foreign soil, and like me art far away (from the country of thy birth).
4. May the fertilizing clouds of morning water thee in thy exile! May the beneficent rains, which the poor implore, never forsake thee!'"

The later historians, combining these traditional poems, have composed a more finished poem, true in sentiment, but undoubtedly factitious in its rendering, and yet so ancient in its exact form, that the Arab-Moors have repeated it from generation to generation, as a revelation of the character and sentiments of the Ommeyan prince, whose overflowing cup of prosperity still contained one bitter drop from the cup of exile.[1] But the lament of the palm-tree was

[1] Abderrahman era guerrero y poeta, y el mismo compuso á su palma aquella celebre y tierna balada que los Arabes repetian de memoria, y que revela toda la dulzura de sentimientos del joven principe Ommiada. — LA FUENTE, *Historia de España*, III. 103.

The following is Condé's Spanish version of the poem: —

"Yo tambien insigne palma eres aqui forastera;
De Algarbe las dulces auras tu pompa halagan y besan;
En fecundo suelo arraigas, y al cielo tu cima elevas,
Tristes lágrimas lloraras, si cual yo sentir pudieras.
Tu no sientes contra-tiempos — como yo de suerto aviesa;
A mi de pena y dolor — continuas lluvias me anegan:
Con mis lágrimas regue — las palmas que El Forat riega;
Pero las palmas y el rio — se olvidaron de mis penas,

but a contemplative sigh in the midst of a grand and successful activity.

We have reached at last the close of this singular and eventful career, — truly adventurous and truly great. So little has Christian literature known of this Arabian hero, and so persistent has been the hatred of the Spanish historians, that one of the greatest governors and generals of early modern history has been treated as a legendary character, or stands at least in that nebulous light which destroys all definition of form and feature. We have presented authentic facts upon which to base a clearer judgment. If these be true, it would appear that for thirty years he had been a conquering sovereign; the founder of a Spanish dynasty upon the ruins of a former one; a monarch who ruled for himself without confiding the labors of administration to others.

He approaches his end.

When he came, a penniless wanderer, to the narrow sea, he was sure of no party, but rather of almost universal opposition. Arabian Spain had as yet few elements out of which to form a new nation. There was no bond of patriotism; there were no national manners and customs, but rather a conglomerate of the manners and customs of the nations still represented there, — the remnants of the old order, more influential than their numbers would indicate, and the peoples who had joined in or followed the

Cuando mis infaustos hados — y de alabas la fiereza
Me forzaron á dejar, del alma las dulces prendas
A ti de mi patria amada ningun recuerdo te queda;
Pero yo triste no puedo — dejar de llorar por ella."

Arabian conquest. There were Arabians, Syrians, Numidians, Romanized Berbers, mountain Berbers, Hispano-Romans, and Goths. These he was to fashion in a national mould; and to this end not only did he conciliate and combine the peoples in the Peninsula, but he invited, from every part of the Mohammedan empire, his relatives and friends, the proscribed or secret adherents of the Ommeyades. They came flocking from their concealments in Syria, Egypt, and Africa, and, circling round his throne, received his protection, while they gave coherence and strength to his government.[1] This was a truly herculean labor, and yet Abdu-r-rahmán achieved it.

Religion, too, had greatly languished in the midst of revolutions and wars. It was one of the chief concerns of the Amir to restore it to its rightful authority and its splendor of worship. The Mosque at Cordova was in a ruinous condition, and he set to work to rebuild it on the old site, and to make it rank in grandeur and sanctity with *Al Aksa* of Jerusalem and the temple of Mecca; nay, to exceed them both.

Begins the construction of the Mezquita, or Mosque.

Upon this splendid structure, which will be referred to hereafter in speaking of Arabian art in Spain, he worked with his own hands an hour, and often more, daily, and spent large sums of money. He doubtless hoped to see its completion, but was denied that pleasure, leaving the pious task, at his death, to his son and successor, Hisham. He founded

[1] Al Makkari, II. 87.

the schools[1] and hospitals which surrounded the mosques; and with him commenced that vital progress in arts, in science, in general literature, and in social life, which constituted Mohammedan Spain, from the ninth to the eleventh century, the world-centre of human culture, and the arbiter of national manners.

His personality was as well known, and has been as curiously preserved as that of the false prophet himself. "He had," says Ibn Zeydun, "a clear complexion and reddish hair, high cheek-bones, with a mole on his face; he was tall and slender in body, wore his hair parted in two ringlets, could only see out of one eye, and was destitute of the sense of smelling. He left twenty children, — eleven of whom were sons, the remainder daughters." "He always dressed in white," says Ibnu Hayyán, "and wore a turban of the same color, which he preferred to any other; his countenance inspired with awe all those who approached him, whether friends or foes."

His personality.

He was brave to a fault, always seeking the van of battle, and in his anger he was terrible. Never self-indulgent, he spent much time in visiting the sick, in attending funerals, and in reciting prayers for the dead. He preached in the Minbar on Fridays. He mingled with the people with great affability: hearing their complaints; redressing their grievances; denying himself to no one, however humble, until his counsellors found him exposed to danger thereby. "May

[1] In these schools, besides theology and law, there were taught mathematics, physics, medicine, and rhetoric.

God preserve thy life, O Amir!" was the remonstrance of one of his favorites: "these continual ramblings do not become a powerful sultan like thee; for, if once the eyes of the vulgar become accustomed to the sight of thee, all salutary dread and respect will vanish away." The advice was taken in good part, and he thenceforth abstained from crowds.

His liberality has been greatly eulogized, and was principally displayed at the frequent gatherings of the people in Cordova on great days of assembly, or when they came to renew their allegiance to him. He distributed money, presents, and dresses with his own hand, and there were heard from his gracious lips such words as these, addressed to one needy applicant, whose wants he supplied: "Let all who are in the same condition with thyself apply to us for help, and make known to us their poverty and misfortunes, — either personally, or by means of memorials placed in our hands, — in order that we may alleviate the blows of fate, and, by remedying their poverty, avert the malignant rejoicings of their enemies." [1] We may be sure the number of applications to such a philanthropist was very great.

His ingratitude to early friends.

Rendered suspicious by the numerous revolts and conspiracies against him, he cannot be exculpated from the charge of cruel ingratitude to the men who aided him in attaining to sovereignty. To Bedr, the trusty mauli, who had followed him in his painful wanderings, and borne his secret message into the Peninsula, he was

[1] Al Makkari, II. 88.

unkind and cruel; on what ground the historian does not inform us. He stripped him of his honors and emoluments; first cast him into prison, and then sent him into exile, where he languished in poverty, writing to his relentless master reproaches for his ingratitude. "I verily think," he said, "that, had I fallen into the hands of the Beni Abbás, I could not have been worse treated by them than I have been by thee."[1] The fact is given, but the provocation is not known.

To Temám Ibn Al-Kamah, who had proposed his accession, his conduct was similar. Forgetting Temám's resolution in the council, which offered him the monarchy, and his mission to the African shore to bring him over, the prince treated him likewise with cruel neglect, and put his family in such disfavor that Hisham, the succeeding monarch, caused one of Temám's sons to be executed, as if carrying out his father's purpose.

There were two other men to whom, as we have seen, Abdu-r-rahmán owed much of his original success. They were Abu Othman and Abdullah Ibn Kháled. He neglected them both, and thus excited the former to rebellion, which resulted in the death of his nephew, and that of the prince's own nephew, who took part in the revolt; and he deposed the latter from his place as sheik or councillor. Each case may have its specific palliation, but that all his early and zealous adherents should fare badly at his hands is cumulative evidence of his ingratitude. "Indeed," says Ibnu Hayyán, "if we compare the fate of those who were

[1] Al Makkari, II. 89, 90.

the principal instruments of Abdu-r-rahmán's success, and who gave him the empire, with that of those who resisted his authority and were subdued, we shall find that the fate of the former was the more lamentable and severe of the two."

Perhaps it is a platitude to say, but it should be remembered, that king-makers feel their consequence, and distastefully proclaim their services, urging as an obligation what should be only loyal duty, and thus render themselves discordant and painful elements in an administration. Monarchs, as nearly absolute as Abdu-r-rahmán, have in all ages resisted such claims, and then lapsed into absolute ingratitude. Claimants for gratitude are living witnesses to lasting obligation.

Arranges the succession.

When the great prince found himself approaching the term of his life, he made calm and serious preparation for a fitting end. He summoned his *hagib*, or prime minister, his provincial *walis*, the governors of the six *capitanías*, or principal cities with their comarcas, and his twenty-four *sheiks*, who acted as privy councillors,[1] and, in their presence, he declared his son Hisham his *Wali al hadi* (successor to the throne). They all renewed their allegiance to the Amir during his life, and to Hisham as his successor. This was the act of a monarch, and an arbitrary one: for Hisham was his third son; and he thus excluded from the succession the two elder

[1] "He had not *Wizirs*, properly speaking, who administered the government in his name; but he had a certain number of sheiks, who sat in council and assisted him with their experience and advice."— AL MAKKARI, II. 91.

sons, Suleyman and Abdullah: but, if arbitrary, it was eminently judicious; for Hisham was far the ablest of the three. Thus, too, he acted, in his new dynasty, with no other precedent than that of succession by general lineage. The first Khalifs had been elected. At a later period, the succession had been established in a family, but not always according to primogeniture. As the founder of a dynasty, and anxious for its perpetuation, he assumed the right to select, as his successor, the son in whose powers and judgment he had the greatest confidence.[1]

That, however, the elder brothers felt themselves aggrieved by this preference is abundantly proved by their conduct during the reign of Hisham and that of his successor. His brother Suleyman took up arms against him, and was defeated; both brothers afterwards revolted against their nephew, Al-hakem, the son of Hisham, and Suleyman was slain in an encounter. But, until the death of Abdu-r-rahmán, they gave no sign of their dissatisfaction. They also took the oath of allegiance to Hisham.

With his little remaining vitality, the Amir set out in a litter to Merida, accompanied by his favorite son and successor, leaving Abdullah in command at Cordova, and appointing Suleyman to the government of Toledo. His faint hopes of returning strength were speedily destroyed.

[1] "When Abdu-r-rahmán inquired of his courtiers how his sons spent their time, the answer was: 'If thy son Hisham receives company, his hall is thronged with learned men, poets, or historians, who discuss the exploits of the brave, and converse about military affairs, etc., whereas the hall of thy son Suleyman is always filled with sycophants, fools, and cowards.'" — AL MAKKARI, II. 95.

At Merida he lingered for a few months, and at last died on the 30th of September, 788, at the age of fifty-nine years, two months, and four days.[1] Nothing seems to be known of the reason which led him to Merida, and caused him to linger and die there. Perhaps it was that nervous desire to move, which dying men often display. We are, however, told that his body was removed to Cordova, and buried with great pomp within the palace, where his eldest son Abdullah recited the funeral services at his grave; and the people mourned the loss of a just king and a friend of the poor.

And dies at Merida in 788.

The first and greatest monarch of the new dynasty, — perhaps through a lingering respect for the ancient seat of the Khalifate, or perhaps because he had not conquered his rights in the East, — he did not at any time call himself Khalif, or *Amiru-l-Moslemin* (Commander of the Moslemah), or *Amirú-l-mumenin,* but was known as *Amír, Imám;*[2] but always independent ruler of the Moslemah in Spain.

There are not wanting historians who have compared Abdu-r-rahmán with his great contemporary Charlemagne, to the advantage of the former. Careful historical comparisons should never be odious, but it is very difficult to conduct them without prejudice. Charlemagne is a character well known to all. If fable has endeavored to shroud him

Comparison with Charlemagne.

[1] This is Condé's account. Al Makkari makes him fifty-seven at the time of his death, but adds, "some writers make him sixty-two."

[2] His example was followed by his successors until the eighth monarch of his dynasty (Abdu-r-ráhman An nassir), who was led to adopt the supreme title by the decline of the Abbasides in the East.

in romance, history has stripped off the false trappings, and presented him and his reign with a statistical accuracy, leaving little to be desired by the historical student. We read his capitularies; we have tables of his councils and his expeditions; his literary projects are clearly defined; and we know, as well as any modern biography, that of the men of letters, science, and philosophy, with whom he literally filled his court. Guizot has given us a review of his correspondence with Alcuin and others.[1] His greatness is manifest and acknowledged.

If I have been successful in my portraiture of Abdu-r-rahmán, surely his claims to historic greatness, if less known and less influential in Western Europe, fairly rival those of the great Charles. His conquest of Spain seems almost a miracle. His after administration was a marvel of judgment and skill. The revolts and conspiracies which he put down equal, in labor and in immediate results, the expeditions of the Frankish monarch; the schools he established about the mosques bear comparison with the scholastic system of Charlemagne, begun in the cathedral schools. His army was larger and better appointed; his wealth greater. He was feared by the Eastern Khalifs: he consolidated his own people into a more compact utility than the Franks could boast.

The king of the Franks was the heir of a magnificent empire. If he achieved greatness, it was also first thrust upon him. The Amir was a homeless wanderer, who built his throne out of nothing.

1. Histoire de la Civilization en France, lect. xxii.

He was great in both activities, as a soldier and a civilizer: the Christians of his own time called him "the great king of the Moors."[1] Roderik of Toledo styles him *el Adahid* (the Just); and a sagacious contemporary writer, stating the case strongly, says: "Charlemagne, the colossal figure of that age, is belittled by comparison with Abdu-r-rahmán."[2]

[1] It seems to me to savor of Teutonic prejudice that Friedrich Schlegel, in speaking of the cloisters and brotherhoods of Charlemagne, should write: "It is to the after extension of these spiritual corporations, by whose exertions lands were rendered fruitful, and peoples civilized, and sciences useful, and states secure, that Western Europe is indebted for the superiority which she attained over the Byzantines, on the one hand, who were possessed of more hereditary knowledge, and the Arabs, on the other, who had every advantage that external power and proselytizing enthusiasm could afford them." — *Lectures on the History of Literature*, lect. vii.

[2] "Carolo Magno, dice un escritor contemporaneo, la figura colossal en aquel siglo, queda rebajado en comparacion de Abderrahman." — ALCANTARA, *Historia de Granada*, tom. I. The comparison is drawn in the interests of historic justice; and whether the reader accepts this conclusion or not, I hope I have succeeded in showing that it is not unworthy of impartial consideration.

BOOK VIII.

THE REMAINING HISTORY IN OUTLINE.

CHAPTER I.

THE SUCCESSORS OF ABDU-R-RAHMÁN.

THE earlier writers on international law were puzzled as to the exact period when, in maritime warfare, the change of title to a prize may be considered as complete: whether when the capture is originally effected and the flag hauled down; whether after twenty-four hours of unmolested possession; whether when brought irrevocably *infra præsidia;* or whether only when a prize court, legally constituted, has adjudicated the matter, and declared the new title a fixed fact.

The true date of the conquest.

This discussion may be properly applied to the capture of a realm, and the title of sovereignty in the conqueror. When, soon after his landing in Spain, Abdu-r-rahmán had put his opponents to flight, and, gathering a large number of adherents, had marched in the first flush of victory to Cordova, the conquest was virtually concluded. Firm possession from day to day, and from year to year, strengthened, without absolutely establishing, his claims. The collection and organization of his

large army placed his administration *infra præsidia*; but it was not until he died that the high court of European history sat upon his claims, and declared the Khalifate of Cordova as firmly established as the Saxon power in England or the empire of Charlemagne in France. Then, and not till then, may we assert that the Conquest of Spain was completed, and assured against any existing opposition. New enemies might arise, and new elements be educed to attack it, but they were not to be discerned or anticipated at that time. With the death and testamentary transfer of the kingdom, the Conquest of Spain by the Arab-Moors was an accomplished fact.

Until then, everything had been provisional. The rapid occupancy of the territory by Musa and Tarik had been the furious surge of a tidal wave, which was at any time liable to a retrogression. The administration of the early Amirs constituted Spain a distant colonial appanage of Damascus, liable to be strengthened or weakened by numerous causes, such as the strength or weakness of the Eastern throne, the claims and counter-claims of the invading tribes — Arabs and Berbers — and the strifes of factions, kindled for personal advantage by ambitious and unprincipled adventurers.

But when the allegiance to the Eastern Khalif was thrown off, and the Abbaside Khalif openly defied by one who bore the best blood of an older lineage; when the Ommeyan prince had been sustained in fact, if not in name, as *Al-mumenin*, a new and supreme Commander of the Faithful, — a new and national loyalty was created, and the world saw the Conquest

of Spain rendered complete by its independence of the very power under which it had grown to such self-asserting strength and proportions.

Considerations to which it gives rise.

Here, then, indeed, the history which I have undertaken to narrate finds its term. Spain has been conquered by the Arab-Moors and placed under permanent and systematic government. But the conquest thus achieved has been principally one of physical force, and there are certain corollaries growing out of the main proposition thus established, without a consideration of which this would be too literal and abrupt a termination of the history. What were they as a nation in their new home? What influence did they exert upon the history of Europe, then and afterwards? What did they contribute to the civilization of mankind? In a word, what was the value of the conquest?

In order to answer these questions correctly, it is necessary to present, albeit in the merest outline, the remaining history of the Mohammedans as long as they remained masters of any portion of the Peninsula; the culmination of their power; the great causes which were at work to undermine and destroy it; its decadence, and final extinction.

Distinct periods in the history.

The dynasties or distinct governmental systems of the Arab-Moors, during their nearly eight centuries of occupancy, are conveniently divided into four:—

I. From 711, the year of the invasion by Tarik under Musa's orders, to the advent of Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel in 756. During this period, Spain was

governed by the Amirs of the Khalifs, twenty-two in number, beginning with Tarik and Musa, and ending with Yúsuf al Fehrí.

II. From Abdu-r-rahmán I., who established the independent Khalifate, to the disruption of that dynasty, — including seventeen Spanish Khalifs of the Ommeyades, — from 756 to 1031, and ending with the reign of Hisham III.

III. From 1031 to 1235, during which the Khalifate was divided into many petty kingdoms, acknowledging no common head, and displaying a weak front to the reconquering Christian hosts. It was in this period that, under the guise of allies, new peoples who had become consolidated in Africa came over, and, while usurping the power, made some attempts at union, which might stay the progress of the Christians. These new invaders from the South were first the Almoravides and then the Almohades.

IV. From 1238 to 1492. During this time, the dominion of the Moslems surely and steadily dwindled away until it was limited to the little kingdom of Granada, long tributary to the Christians, which was overthrown in 1492 by Ferdinand and Isabella.

The first of these divisions I have thus far endeavored to present in detail. I have also given an account of the reign of Abdu-r-rahmán I. somewhat at length. In proceeding to give a brief account of what was done in the succeeding periods, I must omit much that is of interest, but I shall endeavor to present all that is essential to the plan proposed in this history. Such is the checkered and often confused current of

events, that it would tax the pen of a more capable writer to keep up the interest of the story. It may be hoped that, keeping the purpose in view, the reader will be willing to lose no link in the chain of destiny here so clearly to be discerned. The slow decadence of the Moslem power forms really a part of the history of the reconquest of Spain by the Christians, as it was due to their vigorous, constant, and unrelenting attacks.

It has been seen that, in prospect of death, Abdu-r-rahmán I. had declared his third son, Hisham, his successor, to the exclusion of the two elder brothers, and that they considered themselves aggrieved at being thus set aside. Hisham soon vindicated the sagacity of his father by his wisdom, generosity, and justice. He restored the old Roman bridge at Cordova, and sedulously furthered the interests of all parts of his dominions; but his chief labors still remain to astonish and gratify the traveller, in the great mosque at Cordova, begun by his illustrious father, but completed by him towards the end of his reign, in the year 796. Additions were made to the building, and new courts enclosed, by his successors; but the main structure, even as it is seen to-day, owes its existence to the zealous thought of the father, and the pious and arduous labors of the son.

Hisham I.

It was also during the reign of Hisham that the first steps were taken towards a change in religious decisions. I have already spoken of the four Orthodox sects among the Mohammedans. Just as the Arabians were about to invade Spain, there was born in Ba'lbek

a religious philosopher named Al auzá'eí, who became profoundly versed in the traditions of the faith, and whose doctrines, after becoming established at Damascus, naturally made their way with the Amirs into Spain. There they remained in full vigor until this reign, when the learned doctors of Andalusia began to utter legal decisions according to the opinions of Málik Ibn Ans, of Medina, the most renowned of their Imáms. In the succeeding reign, the change had been fully made. The rites of Al auzá'eí were abandoned, and those of Málik substituted, the more readily that this change constituted another element in their declaration of independence.

Is succeeded by his son, Al-hakem.

Hisham was succeeded by his son, Al-hakem I., against whom his uncles, still contesting the throne, revolted, but without success. His reign is marked by his wars with Louis, the son of Charlemagne, upon the line of the Spanish march; and he appears as the first of the new dynasty to surround himself with oriental splendors, and a numerous retinue of guards and courtiers, — mamelukes, eunuchs, and men renowned for science and literature.

Abdu-r-rahmán II.

The history of Al Makkari abounds with illustrative anecdotes of all these reigns, which I reluctantly omit. Al-hakem died in 822, and was worthily succeeded by his eldest son, Abdu-r-rahmán II. Under his banners, the bitter contest with the North went on, and he conducted it with resclute vigor. He invaded Castile and Galicia; defeated the Christian king, Alfonso II. of Leon, capturing and destroying his chief city, Leon. So important was

his power considered, that he received an embassy from Theophilus, Emperor of the East, in 839, requesting him to join with his forces to check the aggression of the Abbaside Khalifs; but, while thus called upon for a distant eastern movement, he found a new and essential use for his troops at home. The Northmen (Majus), who, as Danes, had invaded England, and as Northmen had already given cause of grief to Charlemagne in France, now appeared with unwonted hardihood upon the coast and rivers of Spain. They entered and ravaged Seville, and were away before the Khalif could come up with them.

According to Al Makkari, this Khalif added two porches to the great mosque at Cordova. The death of Abdu-r-rahmán II. occurred in 852. The succeeding reigns of Mohammed, Al-mundhir, and Abdullah until 912, are marked by no important events, except the partial destruction, during the reign of Mohammed, of the city of Cordova by an earthquake, accompanied by a severe storm of thunder and lightning. "The mountains were rent asunder; the castles and palaces were levelled with the dust; the birds left their nests in the branches of the trees, and the wild beasts forsook their dens; the inhabitants, fearing that they might be buried under the crumbling roofs, fled to the open country."[1] This is specially worthy of notice, because, allowing for exaggerations, it may account for the disappearance of some of those splendid palaces, so glowingly described, of which not a trace now remains. Left in too ruinous a condition

[1] Al Makkari, II. 128.

to be rebuilt, they crumbled away, and their materials were used for other purposes.

We come, in the year 912, to the accession of Abdu-r-rahmàn III., the grandson of Abdullah. During this reign, we can still observe at the first glance the increasing power and splendor of the Spanish Khalifate: while a second and more penetrating one shows the increase of enemies which compassed it on all sides, requiring vigilance and constant effort to repel them; for here we are reaching the culminating point in the Moslem fortunes in Spain. With what energy and success this monarch conducted the affairs of the kingdom is manifested in the titles history has accorded him. He was called *An-násir lidín-illah* (the Defender of the true faith), and *Abú-l-motref* (the Victorious.) He dealt promptly with rebellions among his people, and carried on the war against the encroaching Christians, whom he defeated at Zamora, so completely as to awaken their fears and extort their respect.[1] The prestige of his name and the reputed splendors of his court led distant nations to seek his alliance. He received an embassy from the Slavonians, and another, of greater significance, from Constantinople.

The halcyon days of Abdu-r-rahmán III.

The magnificence with which he received the latter is given in detail by Al Makkari, in a quotation from Ibnu Hayyán. The scene was the throne-room in the palace of Az-zahrá. The throne was "glittering with gold and sparkling with gems;" the entrance court was "strewn with the richest carpets and most costly

[1] During his reign, the Christian Spaniards made little or no progress. See Al Makkari, I. 395, note 7.

rugs; silk awnings of the most gorgeous description had everywhere been thrown over the doors and arches." The epistle of the emperor, written in letters of gold on sky-blue vellum, sealed with heavy gold, and enclosed in a bag of silver cloth, itself encased in gold, was presented. Two poets had been selected to address the assembly upon the grandeur of the Spanish Khalifate, and of this reign in particular; but both were struck dumb by the awe of the presence. The first fell fainting to the ground, and the second, "all of a sudden, stopped for want of a word which did not occur to him, and thus put an end to his peroration."

It was in this reign, too, that there began such a new concentration of power in Africa as foreshadowed danger to the Khalifate from that quarter, and required the Khalif to show himself there with an armed force. Like the elder Brutus and like Constantine, but with better reason than either, he executed his son, Abdullah, who had conspired against him. He was the first of the Spanish Ommeyades who assumed the insignia and title of *Khalif*. The Eastern Abbasides had become impotent; their Khalif, Al-Muktadir, had been put to death in 929, and then Abdu-r-rahmán allowed himself to be called *Amíru-l-mumenin* (Commander of the Faithful).

He calls himself "Commander of the Faithful."

But all this grandeur did not bring him contentment. After his death, in 961, it was found that he had left a paper in the elegiac vein, in which he declared that, in all his long life, he only remembered to have passed fourteen happy days.

This notable reign of Abdu-r-rahmán III. has not received the credit which is justly its due, because of its position in the current history. It commenced nothing, and ended nothing; but, in truth, it marks the most brilliant point in the career of the Spanish Moslems, as it contained the vivifying influence which gave superior popularity among historians to the reign of his son, Al-hakem II.

The accession of this monarch was celebrated with great pomp. All his subjects were required to take the oath of allegiance to the first prince who could adopt by inheritance the title of Commander of the Faithful. The kingdom of Spain had indeed, from the accession of the first Abdu-r-rahmán, been independent, but it had now acquired additional prestige by title; and thenceforth he who considered himself the representative of the prophet resided, not in Baghdad, but in Spain. He retained the ministers of his father, and continued his policy, which had worked so well that, after a prosecution of the war in the North, he received a visit from the Christian king Ordoño IV., of Galicia, that prince being at war with his cousin Sancho, sought the aid of Al-hakem, which was granted. The Christian monarch was awed by the guards and dazzled by the splendors of the Moslem court, and abjectly declared himself "the slave of the Commander of the Faithful," who was "his lord and master;" and, he added, "I am come to implore his favor, to witness his majesty, and to place myself and my people under his protection." [1]

Al-hakem II.

[1] The addresses of Al-hakem and Ordoño may be read in Al Makkari, II. 163.

Again the Northmen came, landing at Lisbon, but were driven away by the inhabitants before Al-hakem could arrive. Again, too, signs of trouble were manifested in Africa, and the Khalif sent an army to reduce the people on the coast to submission. But the chief glory of Al-hakem's reign was not in the splendor of his court, or the importance of his political achievements. From Cairo and Baghdad came learned men and skilful scribes to aid him in the chief purpose of his life, — the collection of books, as material for the pursuit of science and letters, and for the establishment of "the golden age of literature in Spain." He had numerous agents in the East employed in purchasing rare and curious books. The merchants found it a profitable business. The Khalif was lavish in his presents to authors and collectors. He surrounded himself with the best bookbinders, the most careful transcribers and those skilful in illuminating the manuscripts. The library was in his palace at Cordova; and, according to the chronicler, had no rival in the world, except that of An-nasír, the thirty-fourth Khalif of the house of Abbas, which was destroyed by the Moguls when they took Baghdad in 1258. I have reserved a further reference to Al-hakem's collection for a later chapter.

His splendid library.

The political power bequeathed to him by his father had been maintained, and he had added to this, great progress in science and literature. If, when he died in 976, a successor had appeared worthy to inherit these great legacies, — a man active, valiant, and prudent, a lover of learning, and a patron of authors,

living and dead, — instead of being called upon sadly to relate the decadence of this splendid empire, the historian might have dwelt with pleasure upon a firmer government, acquisitions from the enemy, decisive victories, and a more brilliant civilization. The dynasty of the Ommeyades would have lengthened out into a shining procession, each monarch striving to impallid the splendors of his predecessor by the dazzling rays of his own glory; but unfortunately this was not to be.

When Al-hakem died, in 976, his son and heir, Hisham II., was but nine years old. The minority of a king, history shows us by many examples, is a misfortune to the nation. The ambitious nobles use a power which they do not nominally usurp, and yet it is the worst sort of usurpation, because most difficult to define and denounce. Conspiracy was rife. A rebellious uncle, Al-Mugheyrah, was taken and strangled. The air was full of questions and doubts. Who should exercise the power which the young king could not wield?

Hisham II. a "sluggard king."

There was a young Spanish Arab, born near Algeçiras, drawing his lineage from an ancestor who had entered Andalus with the invading force of Tarik. His name was Mohammed Ibn Abdullah; but as afterwards, in his eventful career, he assumed the title *Al-mansur* (the Victorious), the Arabian historians have called him thus in relating the story of his life. There is, indeed, but one Al-mansur in Spanish history. It was he who commanded the guards by whom the uncle of Hisham was strangled. When a youth he had travelled to

Al-mansur, "the Victorious."

Cordova, and established himself in a little shop near the palace-gate. A skilful scribe, his chief business was to write letters for those who could not write, and petitions for those who entered the palace seeking boons from the monarch. He was soon remarked, and recommended by one of the eunuchs of the palace to the queen Sobha, the mother of the young king Hisham. By his gentle manners and generosity he won her heart and her favor, and used them to carry out plans which his ambition had from the first been secretly devising.

He pleased the queen greatly by the present of a miniature palace wrought in silver, and she introduced him into the presence of Al-hakem. The stars were propitious to his ambition; for the Khalif, who was addicted to astrology, had found, among the prophecies concerning his reign, one referring to a rising man, whose hands were of a tawny color, and who had a sabre cut on his head. Al-mansur had the tawny hands, and was later to have the description completed after the death of Al-hakem by receiving a wound on the head.

The story of his intrigues for power is curious and interesting. He curried favor with the hájib, Al-mus'háfé. Then he conspired with Ghalib to unseat him; when in turn Ghalib was made hájib, he turned against him with a like success. The weak young Khalif at first was suspicious of this powerful intriguer, but soon folded his hands and permitted him to take the charge of the treasures, and at last to wield the entire power. Al-mansur then assumed great state, took a grand guard of Berbers into his pay, and

built a powerful castle, rivalling even that of royalty, which he called "Medinat Az-záhirah." He arrayed himself in royal robes, issued gold and silver coin bearing his name, and required the priest to read a prayer for him in the great mosque, immediately after the Khotbah, or prayer for the Khalif. It was after reaching this climax of arrogance that he assumed the titles Al-hájib (the Supreme Minister), and Al-mansur (the Victorious).

He usurps the power and uses it with vigor.

And what substantial reasons could he present for such unblushing impertinence? The very strongest or he could not have sustained himself. The king was a recluse and a dreamer, unfit to rule; Al-mansur was a man of the greatest gifts. His government was just and rigorous; the people respected, if they did not love him. He was a distinguished warrior, happiest when in the field. He fought fifty-six pitched battles without losing a single one. He forced the Christians back at all points. He destroyed Leon. He flew southward to defeat the Idrisites in Africa; for he foresaw that out of Africa a new destroyer was to come, unless his power should be nipped in the bud. He formed an alliance with the Zenetes, and crushed them when they in turn became treacherous. He captured Barcelona, the chief city of the Spanish march; invaded Galicia, and destroyed Santiago, its chief city.

Here was a hero to whom the people would grant almost anything: a man to trust, a rock to lean against; one who might have usurped the title of Khalif with the power, and did not. All this time, while Al-mansur was acting, Hisham lay concealed in

the palace; and when Al-mansur was on his campaigns, the king was carefully watched by others; not with a view to his injury, but because Al-mansur could not afford to lose him. He was not a man, but a name, and that name was respected by the people.

Occasionally, to convince the multitude that the king still lived, the great minister brought him out, arrayed in his royal robes, and mounted on horseback; he held a sceptre in his hand, and Al-mansur, on foot, led his horse by the bridle.

The death of the great minister.

Al-mansur died on the 7th of August, 1002, leaving the kingdom in an unfortunate condition. It was no longer an important question, who should be king, but who should be hájib; and the more unanswerable inquiry was, who could succeed Al-mansur. His hand had been felt in every department; he had made additions to the mosque at Cordova; he had built many structures besides his own castle; he had constructed a bridge across the Xenil at Ecija. He had written the complete text of the Korán with his own hand, and carried it with him in all his campaigns. His servants were directed to collect all the dust which gathered in his garments during his marches against the infidels, and preserve it in a bag, to be mixed, when he should die, with the spices used in embalming him. He bore, as another *memento mori*, his grave-clothes always with him; and the winding-sheet was made of linen grown on the land he had inherited from his father, and spun and woven by his own daughters. His constant prayer was that he might die while making war against the Christians, and this was

granted him. Thus he is represented as very devout and very moral. He had, it is said, enjoyed wine in moderation until two years before his death, when he abandoned its use. Whatever his faults, here was a real hero whose valiant exploits conquered a popularity which he did not stoop to seek.

Except Abdu-r-rahmán I., whose career has so many salient and romantic points, the greatest name in the annals of Moslem Spain is that of Al-mansur. In the words of the *risáleh* of Ash-shakandi: "I know no other Moslem who, in his conquests of the Christian territory, reached, sword in hand, to the very shores washed by the Green Sea [Bay of Biscay]; who did not leave in the infidel country a single Moslem captive; who surpassed Herkal [Heraclius] in the number of his armies, Ishkander [Alexander] in prudence and military talents; and upon whose tomb, when his doom was decreed, the following verses were engraved: —

"'The traces he left behind will tell who he was, as if thou sawest him with thine own eyes.
By Allah! the succeeding generations will never produce his equal, nor one who knows better how to defend our frontiers.'"[1]

Who shall be hájib?

Upon his death, which, notwithstanding his apparent usurpation of power, caused the greatest sorrow to King Hisham, Abdu-l-malek, the son of Al-mansur, succeeded without question to the post of hájib, being endued with the *khil'ah* or robe of honor, and having his commission signed by the king himself. Thus the precedent was made

[1] Quoted by Al Makkari, I. 34.

of a lineal succession of hájibs, parallel with the lineal succession of kings. After following in the footsteps of his father for seven years, he died in 1008, and his place was occupied by his brother, Abdu-r-rahmán, who felt himself so strong in his office that he extorted from the Khalif, Hisham, who was still kept in seclusion, the nomination as successor to the throne. Like causes produce similar results: this was the re-enactment in Spain of the *maires du palais* usurping the throne of the sluggish kings in France; with singular exactitude of persons and order,—Al-mansur, the Peppin of Heristal; Abdu-l-malek, a weaker Martel; and Abdu-r-rahmán a less successful, but equally ambitious, Peppin le Bref. There the parallel ends: the Carlovingians in France were on the flood-tide to fortune; the hájibs of Hisham were struggling against a fearful ebb. At this juncture there was no Moorish Charlemagne.

Not only was the Khalif's promise given, but in a wordy and humiliating proclamation, and with solemn investiture, the inheritance was bestowed upon the hájib for "the generosity of his soul, the greatness of his origin, the nobility of his descent; his piety, his prudence, his wisdom, his talents; . . . since, in short, he [the Khalif] knows him to unite in his own person every good quality." [1]

The heir apparent is destroyed.

But although centuries had elapsed since the Arabian tribes came into Spain, their old jealousies were not yet laid to rest. The family of the ambitious hájib were Yemenites; the Beni Ummeyah and the proud Koreishites, who

[1] Al Makkari, II. 223.

cared little who was king, would not brook such rivalry. They revolted against Abdu-r-rahmán, seized him, and cut off his head. The active chief of the conspirators, Mohammed, great-grandson of Abdu-r-rahmán III., then confined the unfortunate king, Hisham, more closely, gave out that he was dead, and declared himself Khalif by the immediate grace of God, *Al-muhdi-billah* (directed by the grace of God).

But this usurpation of the offices of hájib and khalif was a dangerous business. This time it was not the pure Arabian blood alone that conspired. The Berbers and Zenetes rose in revolt, while the people of Cordova sided with the usurper. It was at the instance of the citizens that Al-muhdí issued an edict expelling these African tribes from the city. This was the beginning of a new and most serious complication. After their ejectment, these tribes proclaimed Suleyman, *Al-musta 'ín-billah* (the implorer of God's assistance); and under his banner they marched against Al-muhdí. There was varying success until, after being once driven from Cordova to Toledo, Al-muhdí returned, and was compelled to resort to a humiliating means of saving his life and his office as hájib. He announced that Hisham was not dead; he followed the announcement immediately by presenting him to the people, demanding anew their oath of allegiance to him; and then, divesting himself of his false royalty (as one may say, newly *directed by the Lord*), he reserved only his office of high chamberlain until, perchance, he might again use it as a stepping-stone to the higher dignity. But in those days it seemed

that for every hájib Allah had foreordained an assassin. Mohammed Al-muhdí met such a fate, and then the confusion became worse confounded. Arabian Spain became a prey not to foreign enemies, but to every bold miscreant within her own borders who wore a sword, and who could inspire a party.

Under Suleyman, the Berbers captured Cordova, plundered it, and massacred its inhabitants, and thenceforth they renounced all authority; they spread like a plague over Andalusia, taking towns and districts, and preparing for that fatal segregation which was, after a little space, to give up the entire country to the successful inroads and occupation of the victorious Christians of the north. It was in this desperate conjuncture that the *Beni Hammud arose.* In the time of Al-mansur this Hammud had appeared and asserted himself as a descendant at ten removes from Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet. By prudence and cunning he had gained power and adherents, and now his sons, Al-kasim and Ali, were strong enough to shake off the usurping yoke of Suleyman and to cause his assassination after a stormy rule of three years.

Inroads of the Berbers.

Both Ali and Al-kasim, in turn, were placed upon the throne, but only to perish by the hand of the assassin; and thus, while figuring as khalifs in the dynasty of the Ommeyades, they were in reality only the founders of the dynasty of the Beni Hammud, who were never more in reality than kings of Cordova. Al-kasim was captured and strangled in the year 1035.

We need not follow the confused, and in many

respects similar, history of the remaining khalifs of the united empire, Abdu-r-rahmán V., Mohammed III., Yahya Ibn Ali, and Hisham III.

The end of the dynasty of the Ommeyades.

The last of these, a man of noble but mild disposition, was king most of the time in name rather than in reality; he disputed the right to rule with Yahya, and died in retirement in the year 1036. In the words of Al Makkari, "he was the last member of that illustrious dynasty, which had ruled over Andalus and a great portion of Africa for a period of two hundred and eighty-four years, counting from the accession of Abdu-r-rahmán I., surnamed Ad-dákhel, in 756."[1] In conventional phrase, not without a sigh of resignation he adds: "There is no God but Him! He is the Almighty!"

Thus the second period in the Moro-Arabian occupancy of Spain came to its end, and with its close there were only gloomy forebodings for the future;—

"Mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiorem."

[1] Al Makkari, II. 244.

CHAPTER II.

"THE MEN DEVOTED TO GOD," — AL-MORABITH.

IT is no part of the task which I have assumed to enter into the details of the later history, so full of historic interest and poetical romance. The dynasty of the undivided Khalifate having come to an end, Arabian Spain fell literally to pieces, the remaining history being that of petty kingdoms. Each city was a royal residence, and every successful chief became by courtesy a monarch and the founder of a short-lived dynasty. Thus we have in Malaga the Beni Idris, — from Idris, the son of Yahya Ibn Ali, — from 1036 to 1055; the kings of Algeçiras, likewise Beni Idris,— from Mohammed, the grandson of Hamud, — from 1040 to 1058; the Zeyrites, in Granada, from 1013 to 1090; the Beni Jehwar, of Cordova, from 1030 to 1058; the Beni 'Abba'd of Seville, from 1023 to 1091; the Beni Dhí-n-nún, of Toledo, from 1012 to 1085; the Beni Tojib and Beni Hud, in Saragossa, from 1012 to 1146; the Beni Al-aftas, in Badajos, from 1009 to 1094; the Beni Abí 'ámir, in Valencia, from 1021 to 1092; the Beni Táhir, in Murcia, from 1038 to 1091; and, no further to specify, the little

Spain dissevered into petty kingdoms.

kingdoms of Almeria, Denia, the Balearic Islands, and As-sahlah (a small district between Murcia and Valencia).

These petty kings were sometimes fighting against each other, and sometimes joining hands to oppose the down-coming Christians, until they were startled by a new incursion from Africa, from which they hoped little and feared much. It was, indeed, a new Mohammedan incursion, which might be effectual to stay the Christians indeed for a time, but which, in consolidating Islám, threatened destruction to the existing kingdoms by the absorption of every one of them in this African vortex. I refer to the coming of the Almoravides.

These new hosts from Mauritania were soon to march into Spain; and, while they were to trample, without compunction, upon the Moslem rights, and to usurp the power of the kings, all that could be predicted in their favor was that they would stay for a brief period the progress of the banner of the cross. The philosophy of their rise and progress in Africa is easy to explain. With the contraction and consolidation of power at the seat of the Eastern Khalifate, with far more important interests in Asia than in Africa; and with a like contraction and consolidation in Spain, — which ended in the final disruption of the Ommeyan dynasty, — Africa had been left as an intermediate ground, where, neither power being felt, the field was clear for new men to devise new and ambitious schemes. The Fatimite Khalifs, founded by Al-mahdí in the ninth century, conquered Egypt and held sway in Eastern

The Almoravides.

Africa until they were finally destroyed by Saladin in the twelfth century. But, always looked upon by the Abbasides with disfavor as Shiites or heretics, they were too weak, too much concerned for their own safety, to interfere in these new schemes which were taking form in the centre and west of northern Africa.

In this condition of affairs, it happened that, on the other side of the Atlas chain, there arose, in the deserts of ancient Getulia, a Berber of the family of Lamtuna, named Yúsuf Ibn Tashefin. The Lamtunas were a part of the great tribe of the Zanaga, who — not in the direct march of the conquest, or of later communications — were roused from their long lethargy by a new religious revival. Abdullah Ibn Yasim, a *Morabite*, or man of God, of great sanctity, beginning with the Lamtunas, preached a new crusade, not against the Infidel, but with purpose to reform the degenerate Moslemah. Such, at least, was the inception of what was soon to prove a formidable invasion of Spain. Abdullah was the preacher and Yúsuf the warrior. At the call of Abdullah, eighty thousand of the tribe of Zanaga flocked to the standard of Yúsuf. Their religious enthusiasm made them monks — "wearers of the veil" — as well as warriors; and, at the bidding of the preacher, they assumed the name of *Al-morabith* (men devoted to God), which has taken the form of Almoravides in the languages of Europe.

Yúsuf Ibn Tashefin.

And Abdullah Ibn Yasim.

This large and constantly increasing force, occupying fertile spots on the edge of the desert, wandered hither and thither, gaining momentum and mobility,

and at last, as if at a bound, they crossed the Atlas Mountains, and came like an inundation upon the West. Thus growing in numbers and in wealth, under the prudent but stern rule of Yúsuf, they became disciplined, and, from a desultory horde, were changed into a mighty host, marshalled for conquest and empire. It became a dominion and a dynasty: the political conditions rose superior to the religious purpose. Yúsuf founded the city of Morocco, and the new Telemsan. Nothing in northern Africa could resist the extension of his sway.

He was already looking beyond Africa for fields worthy of his powers, and was prudently devising the best mode of invading Spain. He was already called by his people *Amir of the Moslemah* and *Defender of the Faith;* he would wait for a more extended conquest before assuming the title of Khalif. It was in this conjuncture of affairs that he was called upon to enter Spain, where the segregated Moslemah were waging the never-ending battle with the advancing Christians, and losing ground at every shock.

The Arabian chroniclers have given us the details of his personality; and, as he was the most prominent figure in the events soon to follow, we may dwell for a moment upon their portraiture. Not noble by birth, nor honored by fortuitous station, he had the gift, so rare in history, of inciting, marshalling, and governing vast numbers of men, and leading them to great achievements. His description by eye-witnesses of his exploits helps us to understand the history. He was a tall, thin man, of clear brown complexion (*claro moreno*), with pierc-

Character and appearance of Yúsuf.

ing black eyes, under arched brows; an aquiline nose; thick black hair; very little beard; his voice was clear and ringing. He was valiant in war, prudent in government, austere and grave, but very liberal; modest and decent in dress, never wearing any but woollen garments; moderate in pleasures, affable in manners, and very sparing in diet, living upon camel's milk and flesh, and barley bread.[1] Thus he was at once a leader and an example to his followers.

He is called into Spain.

Such was the man who was called into Spain at the moment when, of all things, he desired to go there. It happened in this wise. Alfonso VI. had already captured Toledo on the 10th of June, 1081, and had set about the task most odious in the eyes of the Moslemah of "converting them to polytheism."[2] With an insolence that grew with success, he had invaded the Moorish territories of Badajos and Seville, and compelled their kings to compound for his withdrawal by paying tribute. Al-mu'tamed, king of Seville, being engaged in war against the king of Almeriá, — a fact significant of the internecine troubles among the Moslemah, — did not pay the tribute when due, but let the time pass, by only a few days. When the tardy tribute arrived, Alfonso would not receive it, but imposed certain new conditions. One was that the king of Seville should cede to him certain fortresses; and another, of the most extraordinary nature, was that Alfonso's queen Constanza, who was then *enceinte*, should be allowed to reside during her retirement,

[1] Cited by La Fuente, Historia de España, IV. 365.

[2] The trinitarian doctrine as opposed to the monotheism of Islám.

with a proper retinue, and bring forth her child in the great mosque of Cordova, or in the palace of Az-zahra, on account of the sacredness secured to that spot, in his eyes, by the fact that a venerable Christian church had stood to the west of the great mosque.

The bearer of this insolent request was a Jew, one of Alfonso's ministers, who added to the insult of this demand by the arrogance and pertinacity with which he preferred it. The anger of the Moslem king got the better of his prudence. He seized an inkstand, and threw it with such force "that it lodged in the skull of the Jew, whose brain fell down his throat," and then, as if to restore the unfortunate brain, and certainly to put the greatest scorn upon the Christian king, he executed the Jewish ambassador by nailing him to a post with his head downward.[1]

Alfonso's embassy to Seville.

The rage of Alfonso when he received these tidings knew no bounds, and his measures for revenge were prompt and powerful. He at once raised two armies: one under the command of an enterprising general, who, after laying waste the territory of Beja, was to proceed to Seville. Taking command of the other in person, he marched directly to Seville; and when the armies met on the bank of the Guadalquiver, he besieged the town.

It was in this critical emergency that the Moorish king of Seville determined to ask the aid of Yúsuf

[1] Al Makkari, II. 271. This is followed by another and slightly different account, that the escort of the Jew, five hundred in number, were put to death, all but three; and that the king seized the ambassador by the throat, and "shook him and beat him until the eyes came out of his head."—*Ib.* 272.

and his Almoravides. He reasoned with himself and with his counsellors thus: "If I treat with Alfonso, the infidel, I may buy him off; but this will not be agreeable to Allah: if I lean for support on Yúsuf, I do an act agreeable to Him; and, as for consequences, it is better to be a camel-driver [as Yúsuf's prisoner] than a keeper of pigs [for Alfonso in Castile]."

Armed with this logic, and not shrinking from the singular result in the near future that he should be Yúsuf's prisoner in Africa, he announced his intention to introduce the Almoravides. This announcement gave pleasure to most of the Moslem people: it was only the petty kings who were concerned at it; they could easily be swallowed up; in their opinion, there was no room for such a host in Spain. But Al-mu'tamed lost no time in carrying out his project. He wrote to the kings of Badajos and Granada to send him their chief kadís; he sent for the supreme judge of Cordova. To these ministers when they arrived he added his own wizir; and the embassy of four thus formed he sent across the strait to Yúsuf.

Meantime, that far-seeing leader had been busy in preparation for the very task to which he was now summoned. Berbers were constantly flocking to his standard, and already, in a vague correspondence with some of the chief men of Andalus, he had intimated his purpose to be their ally and good friend.

And is received by the Moorish king of Seville.

The arrival of the embassy from Seville presented the coveted opportunity. He gave orders for the immediate crossing of his army from Ceuta, and was met by a fleet of boats fitted out by the Sevillians, and supplied with provisions in

large quantity. When all his troops were landed, he marched without delay to Seville, "army after army, general after general, and tribe after tribe." Alfonso hastened to meet him, with the purpose, according to a letter written to Al-mu'tamed, "to give him occupation for the rest of his days!" Upon his arrival, Yúsuf had marched to Badajos; and the Christian king, instead of beating up his quarters, thought to crush the king of Seville before he could receive succor. The battle between Al-mu'tamed and Alfonso was long and bloody. The great number of African camels frightened the Sevillian cavalry and threw them into disorder. The Moorish king was severely wounded, and his troops had lost heart; but the sorely pressed monarch, thinking of a pet child at home, held on hoping against hope.[1]

It was then that he received intelligence of the arrival of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, who had been delayed by the stratagem of Alfonso. He had sent, on Thursday morning, to Al-mu'tamed this message: "To-morrow is Friday and a holiday for the people of thy creed; so is Sunday for those of ours. Let the battle take place on the intermediate day, which is Saturday." This *ruse de guerre*, although suspected by the king of Seville, and communicated, with the suspicion, to Yúsuf, came near being fatal to the Moslemah. Making his preparations, and employing his scouts on

[1] The story is touching: "O Abú Háshim!" he exclaimed, "the sword has fractured my bones, but God gave me courage and endurance during the bloody conflict. Amidst the clouds of dust I think of thy pleasant person, and the pleasant thought induces me not to flee." — AL MAKKARI, II. 285.

Thursday night, Alfonso fell upon the Sevillian camp the next morning, and, as we have seen, nearly annihilated that force before Yúsuf could come to their assistance. When he did come in the extreme moment, by the fiercest fighting he not only extricated Al-mu'tamed from his peril, but achieved a complete victory over the Christians. Alfonso, wounded in the thigh, was borne away in the flight; his camp was taken and plundered; and thousands of his bravest were killed or taken prisoners.

Of this battle of Zalacca, fought on the 23d of October, 1086, in the plains not far from Badajos, Condé says, it "was the most fortunate and eventful of any fought since that of Yarmuz and the day of Cadesia; seeing that the battle, or rather the infidel downfall of Zalacca, caused the seat of Islám to be made firm in Andalusia; and, whereas before that time the foot of the believer had become feeble, and was slipping away from the path traced out for him by the hand of God, it now became confirmed in strength, and the Faithful returned to their pristine constancy in the law."[1]

The battle of Zalacca.

To strike terror into the Christian heart, Yúsuf, who now assumed the title Amir Al-mumenin, or "Commander of the Faithful," — equivalent to Khalif or Sultan, — cut off the heads of the Christian dead and the prisoners, and distributed them through Andalusia. He sent to each of the cities, — Seville, Cordova, Valencia, Saragossa, and Murcia, — ten thousand of these ghastly trophies of victory; and had besides

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, II. part iii. ch. xviii.

forty thousand to despatch to Africa, in order to show the people what a famous victory Allah had conferred upon the Moslem arms.[1] If anything further was needed to crown the Moslem success, it was the death of Alfonso of the wound he had received in battle.

After being magnificently entertained at Seville, Yúsuf made preparations to return to Africa; but it soon became evident that the mighty host he had brought over liked Andalus better than Africa, and had no disposition to go back. His movements were quickened when, in the height of the general rejoicing, he received intelligence of the death of his son, Abu Bekr, at Morocco. This gave him an excuse for hurrying over in person, and leaving for the time his army in Spain, to pursue their victory over the Christian, by vigorous advance and the recapture of the towns on the frontiers of Galicia. Thus history repeated itself, and the Almoravides became masters of Moslem Spain.

Yúsuf returns to Africa, but not to remain.

The narrative of the exploits and successes of the Almoravides in Spain is long and interesting, but the details would be out of place in this history. They form a part of the reconquest, and present another illustration that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." A few more words will complete our abstract.

When, after travelling through his dominions in Africa, Yúsuf returned to join his army in Spain, it was with the full purpose to occupy the country and

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, II. part iii. ch. xvi.

exercise supreme control there. He would resist the Christian advance by uniting and commanding the Moslemah: if the Moslemah resisted, he would chastise them into submission. Meantime his armies had been making conquests in Galicia.

In the year 1090, he laid a vigorous siege to Toledo, the newly-conquered capital and court of the Christian king; but his efforts were unequal to its capture. He had sent word to Abdullah Ibn Balkan, the Zeyrite king of Granada, to join him with his forces; and, on his neglect to do so, Yúsuf penetrated to his capital, made him prisoner, and, seizing his treasures, sent him in irons to Agmát. Then the decree went forth, and his generals set out to conquer the whole of Andalus. Valencia, Badajos, and Cordova fell one by one into his hands; and at last he turned against Seville, his former ally, and besieged Al-mu'tamed in his capital. It is significant of the situation that the king of Seville was now reduced to ask the aid of the Christian king against Yúsuf. In spite of a diversion in his favor by Alfonso, which was checked by a detachment sent for that purpose, Seville was captured, and Al-mu'tamed made prisoner. He was sent to Africa, where he died in captivity four years afterwards:[1] and

Returns and besieges Toledo.

[1] There are many anecdotes of Al-mu'tamed, as indeed of every Andalusian monarch of note. One, which is not germane to the history indeed, gives a glimpse of the condition of woman, and the seraglio life in Spain. His favorite wife Romeykiyyáh "happened to meet, not far from her palace in Seville, some country-women selling milk in skins and walking up to their ankles in mud. On her return to the palace, she said to her royal spouse, 'I wish I and my slaves could do what those women are doing.' Upon which

when on the Mohammedan Easter some of his friends penetrated into his prison, they found him dressed in worn-out clothing; while his daughters were reduced to wander about barefooted, gaining a miserable pittance by spinning.[1]

The downfall of the petty but independent kingdom of Seville was the seal of the Almoravide supremacy in Spain. But the power thus gained was to be enjoyed by others. Old age, with its infirmities, had come upon Yúsuf. For some time, he lived in retirement at Ceuta; and, when he felt the premonitions of death, he caused himself to be conveyed to Morocco, where he died, in September, 1106, at the age of a hundred years, after reigning forty years in Africa and seventeen in Spain. A notable hero this, whose exploits, had he lived in northwestern Europe, would have eclipsed the fame of the contemporary English kings of Norman race, and the rising family of Capet in France. In that historic mist, which has so long enshrouded the Peninsula and northern Africa, heroes are hidden or dimly revealed, and it is for the future historian to clear away the fog and disclose them in their colossal proportions.

With Yúsuf the power of the Almoravides was

Al-mu'tamed issued orders that the whole of his palace should be strewn with a thick paste, made of ambergris, musk, and camphor, mixed together and dissolved in rose-water. He then commanded that a number of vessels, slung from ropes of the finest spun silk, should be procured, and, thus arrayed, the lady and her maids went out of the harem and splashed in that mud." — AL MAKKARI, II. 299.

[1] Condé, II. part iii. ch. xx.

The dominion of the Almoravides comes to an end.

perfected and then culminated. During the thirty-six years of the reign of his son, Ali, and the two years of Alí's son and successor, Táshefín, troubles accumulated. The Christians still continued their victorious advance; the Moslemah in Spain revolted; again the petty kingdoms declared their independence: but the great peril to the Almoravides was not from these combined causes. It was brewing at the South. Africans were to conquer Africans, and struggle with each other for the occupancy of Moslem Spain. From the coming of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, in 1092, there had been four commanders of the Almoravides in Spain; and their dominion extended to 1147, a period of fifty-five years.[1]

[1] I. Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, from 1092 to 1106. II. 'Ali, to 1143. III. Táshefín, to 1145. IV. Is'hák, to 1147.

CHAPTER III.

RODRIGO DIAZ, THE CID CAMPEADOR.

IT is necessary to the completeness of this outline to turn aside from the current of events for a brief space, in order to present a slight biographical notice of a hero whose wonderful and daring exploits are curiously intermingled with those events. His personality presents itself vaguely indeed, but none the less really, as an exponent of the history and as the embodied genius of the reconquest. In the words of Schlegel: "He is worth a whole library for understanding the spirit of the age of which he was the personification." His history is full of romance, which is exaggerated and disfigured in chronicles, epic poems, and *canciones;* but even this legendary romance is full of the historic spirit. I speak of Rodrigo Diaz, *the Cid Campeador.* His real exploits, as far as they can be ascertained, are a golden clue to the ever-changing labyrinth; his poetic *hazañas* and *hechos,* exaggerated as they are, serve to display the estimation in which the noblest prowess and the highest magnanimity were held by friends and enemies alike. Christian kings and Moslem amirs sink into insignificance beside the supereminent glory of *el mio Cid,* — "my Cid." His splendid mailed figure on

The Cid of the legends.

the matchless horse *Bavieca*, and wielding the trenchant sword *Tisona*, attracts all eyes on every field: his glory illumines the age. The envy of his fame by the Christian kings, fostered by jealous nobles, marks a period of disorder in which the Christian monarchs forgot that they were fighting for Christianity and Spain, and were really contending for personal power and aggrandizement. His frequent banishments and recalls show that any instrument would be used by these kings to effect their purpose, and flung aside when no longer needed. He beckoned, and men flew to his standard; he fought for the Christians against the Moslemah; he fought for Moors against Moors; he fought for his own hand, and became a king of men without the name.

It is unfortunate that the historian is limited for material to works based upon truth, but enveloped in fiction. Chief among these is the "Chronicle of the Cid," — "Cronica del famoso Cavallero Cid Ruy Diez," which was used in the compilation of the "Cronica General" ascribed to Alonzo X. (el Sabio).[1]

"Cronica del Cid."

Of equal value is the "Poema del Cid," an epic idyl of three thousand lines, of which the date cannot be certainly fixed, but which cannot be later than the early part of the thirteenth century, and was therefore written very soon after the death of the Cid. Based upon history, although without dramatic form, it is essentially dramatic in character, and presents to us the events in the twelfth

"Poema del Cid."

1 It was first published at Burgos in 1593.

and thirteenth centuries with the rarest local coloring. By aid of these documents, we discern the colossal figure of a warrior and a statesman who, although noble by birth, like thousands of others, owed his promotion and his fame to his own good sword, wielded mostly against the infidel, as a champion of the Spanish king and of Christian Spain; sometimes as the ally of one Moorish chief against the encroachments of another; sometimes as an exile from royal envy and injustice: striking out "for his own hand" and carving a realm for himself.

There are, in this changing history, so many dissolving views that baffled historians have held high controversy, not only as to the deeds ascribed to him, but as to his very existence. The many indeed accept the hero of the chronicle and the poem with large abatement of detail. A few like Masdeu,[1] and minor writers like Galieno, deny that any such hero ever existed as a historic character. The final and logical acknowledgment of the Cid is probably due to the decision of the learned Niebuhr. The reader will see in what a cloud-land the historian is obliged to work.

Accepted as a historic personage.

A bare historic outline of the man and the part he played in this eventful story is all that I am called upon to give. This the reader may fill in by a careful study of the chronicle and the poem, which may be divested of the romantic fiction by deeper re-

[1] He was in ignorance of the contents of a manuscript Chronicle of the Cid of the thirteenth century, cited by Risco, which, stolen during the internal disorders of Spain, was by chance bought in Lisbon of a French pedler in 1846.

searches in the works of Sandoval, Risco, Quintana, and later controversial writers.[1]

A few details will suffice us. The father of the Cid was Diego Lainez, a man of good family; his mother was Teresa Rodriguez, daughter of the governor of the Asturias: the hero was born about the year 1040[2] — the exact date cannot be determined — at a little village near Burgos named Vibar, from which he is often called Rodrigo de Vibar. His birth occurred just after the empire of the Ommeyades had fallen to pieces, and Moslem Spain, now divided into petty kingdoms of unequal strength, had lost power by disunion, and presented a tempting and easy conquest to the Christian Spaniards. Christian Spain, long in a state of division, was consolidating its power just as Moslem Spain was breaking into fragments.

The Cid's family.

Look for a moment at the state of these opposing dominions. Barcelona, as a separate province, was governed by Ramon Berenguer I., who ruled from 1035 to 1076. Ramiro I. was king of Aragon (1035–1063). Garcia Sanchez II. ruled in Navarre (1035–1054). But the greater portions of Christian Spain, including Castile, Leon, and Galicia, were in the hands of a powerful monarch, Fernando I., who, having united these provinces by his own skill, had been the first to tip the balance of

The divisions of Spanish territory.

[1] The work of Prudencio Sannoval is, "Historia de los reyes de Castilla y Leon;" that of Manuel Risco is, "Historia del Célebre Castellano Rodrigo Diaz," &c. The opinions of Marden are set forth in his "Historia Critica de España y de la cultura española."

[2] Some writers make it earlier, even as early as 1025.

power and give a great Christian preponderance in the Peninsula. Fernando, unfortunately for this preponderance, died in 1065, and made, besides, a sad mistake in his will, to which I shall presently refer.

At the time of Fernando's death Rodrigo Lainez was, if the date of his birth be accepted, about fifteen years old. Of good birth and station, of acute intellect, great activity, and unrivalled dexterity in arms; and above all a loyal Castilian, *Castellano á las deréchas*, the youth was ready to avail himself of every opportunity to display his powers and gain a warrior's fame; to become a hero in the sight of all Christian and Moslem Spain. Gentle and magnanimous, he had the highest estimate of honor. The chronicle tells us how, when his aged father was insulted and struck in the face by Count Gomez, and brooded alone without sleep or appetite upon the great humiliation, Rodrigo avenged the wrong by slaying the count and bringing his dripping head to his disconsolate father: "and the old man arose and embraced his son, and placed him above him at the table, saying that he who had brought home that head should be the head of the house of Layn Calvo." His reputation constantly increased; and when, according to the chronicle, he had captured five Moorish kings who had invaded Castile, Ximena, the daughter of Count Gomez, whom he had slain, foreseeing that he would be the greatest man in Spain, sought and obtained his hand in marriage, and was ever after his loving and only wife.[1]

His growing reputation.

[1] Chronicle of the Cid, I. ch. iii.

The story of his sleeping with the leper who was shunned by his knights, and thereby gaining the good will of St. Lazarus and of the holy Virgin, is but a strong illustration of his Christian philanthropy, with the moral that "with such sacrifices God is well pleased."

The Christian preponderance in the peninsula, established by Fernando I., was greatly imperilled when it appeared by his last testament that he had made a partition of his kingdom between his three sons and his two daughters. It was not only that this divided and weakened the Christian power, but that it was the cause of conflict between the inheritors. To Sancho II. he bequeathed Castile;[1] to Alfonso, called the Sixth, he gave Leon; to Garcia he left Galicia; and he provided for his daughters by giving Doña Urraca the city of Toro, and to her sister Elvira the city of Zamora.

The Christian empire of Fernando I. divided.

Fernando was hardly buried before war broke out. Sancho, the eldest and the strongest, considering himself aggrieved by this partition, determined to invalidate the will, *via facta*, by seizing all the dominions which he claimed by birthright. In looking around him for fitting instruments to carry out this purpose, he was forcibly struck with the martial bearing and initial exploits of the young and gallant Rodrigo de Vibar.

The division and its results.

He was already called the *Cid;* for when the king was restoring and repeopling Zamora, which had been in ruins and desolation since its destruction by Almansur, Rodrigo, who had accompanied him, received

[1] Sancho Garcia was Sancho I.

messengers from the five Moorish vassal kings, bearing tribute. They approached him with great respect, hailing him as *Seid*, or *Cid*, which signifies Lord; and the king, to whom Rodrigo offered a fifth of the tribute, then ordered that Ruy Diaz should be called thenceforth the Cid. To this the title *Campeador*, or *champion*, was added for his exploits in the field as the champion of Christianity. This sounding and significant title, so well bestowed and so splendidly vindicated, has come down in the history as marking his personality far better than his family name. King Sancho at once took him into his counsels; knighted him with his own hand,[1] and soon after appointed him *Alferez*, or commander of his troops. By his aid Sancho drove his brother Alfonso away from his kingdom of Leon, and sent him flying in exile and humiliation to the Moorish city of Toledo, where he at least acquired that knowledge which helped him to capture this city at a later day. Without unnecessary delay, Sancho, having occupied Leon, turned his arms against Garcia, and ejected him from Galicia. With equal and rapid fortune, he despoiled his sisters, first of Toro, and then of the newly-restored Zamora. Once again the Christian power was consolidated, and the unfortunate testament of Fernando nullified.

But the death of Sancho, in 1072, put an end to the usurpation, without destroying the consolidation of power. As soon as the tidings reached Alfonso, he hastened from his exile in Toledo to recover his own kingdom of Leon; while Garcia, with equal speed, resumed

[1] The "Cronica" errs in saying that he was knighted by Fernando.

the royal sway in Galicia. But the spirit of Sancho, as to the rights of primogeniture, had entered into the heart of Alfonso. As soon as the affairs of his kingdom were set in order, he marched against Garcia, took away his kingdom, and held him as a prisoner. Then he was ready to turn against Castile, and it was to the Cid that he desired to confide this new enterprise. But with regard to the death of Sancho there were suspicions of assassination or secret homicide, and rumors had come to the ears of the Cid that Alfonso was implicated in the crime. Sancho had been slain by Vellido Dolfos, at the instance of his sister Urraca, while hunting; but, as it was whispered that the king, Alfonso, was in this conspiracy, the high-minded Cid determined to take no part with him in any enterprise until he should exonerate himself from the charge of fratricide by taking an oath that "he neither slew him, nor took counsel for his death." "And my Cid repeated the oath to him a third time, and the king and the knights said *Amen.* But the wrath of the king was exceeding great; and he said to the Cid, 'Ruy Diaz, why dost thou press me so, man?'"[1] The king had no option but to swear; but, in the words of the chronicle, "from that day forward there was no love towards my Cid in the heart of the king." Thus exonerated, with the assistance of Rodrigo the king effected the conquest of Castile; and uniting it to Leon, Galicia, and Portugal, Alfonso VI. took the style and title of Emperor of all Spain, like his father Fernando. As

Whispers that Alfonso was privy to Sancho's death.

[1] Cronica del Cid, lib. ii.

he reigned until 1109, his sway continued during the entire life of the Cid, who in the events and incidents of that reign played the most prominent part.

Such were the historic circumstances which called forth the rare martial prowess of "my Cid." He was the Adelantado, the Lord of the Marches, the military guardian of the frontier, where the war ever raged most fiercely. He collected the king's tribute at Seville, and other cities, the centres of the little Moslem kingdoms. He aided, in the interests of justice, one petty king against another. Thus, when the kings of Seville and Cordova were at war, the army of the latter, with some allies from Granada, and with the assistance of certain Christian *condottieri*, were about to overcome the former. Rodrigo came to the rescue; he commanded the Cordovans to desist from harassing an ally of his king. When they refused, he put himself and his men at the head of the Sevillian army, and completely discomfited the enemy. So grateful was the king of Seville that, when he next paid his tribute to Alfonso, he overburdened his deliverer with rare gifts and much treasure, not without awakening the envy of the suspicious monarch.

The theatre of the Cid's exploits.

The story of the marriage of the Cid's daughters, Elvira and Sol, with the two Infants, or Counts, of Carrion, which, with the consequences, occupies so important a space in both the "Poema" and the "Cronica," is not without historic significance. The reluctance of the Cid is a touch of nature; but the arbitrary requirement of the king

The unhappy marriages of the Cid's daughters.

displays a condition of royal wardship, like that in the Anglo-Norman constitution of England, against which there was no refusal.[1] These noble girls were shamefully treated by their husbands,[2] as were many others in that time whose story is not told. The law gave no redress; but when the Cid claimed from the king that his brutal sons-in-law should be compelled to appear in the lists, to meet his champions, they could not, in that wild military period, refuse without being disgraced. They did appear, and were beaten, and thus disgraced; and the Cid's daughters were set free to marry better husbands, as they soon afterwards did.

The story of the Cid, even so far as it may appear in the light of history, is of rare and romantic interest. I cannot spare the space to present even a tabular list of his valiant exploits, but can only give enough to enable the reader to discern his personality, that we may have grounds for a philosophic consideration of the real part he played in the great and stormy drama.

Once, when Alfonso went to lend assistance to certain of his Moorish allies, the hero was ill and unable to accompany him. It was under these circumstances that, taking advantage of the king's absence and the

[1] The words of the chronicle are simple and natural, and display a loyalty which never faltered, in evil or in good report: "Then the Cid said [to the king]: 'Sir, I begat them, and you gave them in marriage. Both I and they are yours; give them to whom you please, and I am pleased therewith.'"— *Cronica del Cid*, lib. vii. ch. 29.

[2] Ib. lib. viii. ch. 14.— They were stripped and beaten nearly to death — left for dead — on their marriage journey.

Cid's illness, a party of Moors, occupying a portion of Arragon, entered the province of Castile, and, by a *coup de main*, overpowered the fortress of Gomaz. Rodrigo, weak and almost helpless as he was, rose from his sick-bed, pursued them with great celerity, routed and scattered them in the territories of Toledo, relieved Gomaz, took away their spoils, and captured seven thousand prisoners. "O my Cid!" But he was to suffer for his exploit. The Moorish king of Toledo, affecting to resent this invasion of his neutral territory by making it a seat of war, complained of it to his suzerain and ally, Alfonso. The Spanish monarch, always secretly nourishing his envy and ill-will towards the Cid, made it the pretext for banishing him, as a breaker of the laws of war. "Alas, my Cid!" Sad as it seemed at the time, it gave the Cid his golden opportunity. It sent him forth a knight-errant with a great name, and a few adherents, constantly, however, increasing in numbers, to seek his fortunes. This was in 1076. Never had knight-errantry a nobler champion or a grander field.

Rodrigo succors Castile.

And is banished for his pains.

A valiant man, of great forecast and cool head, invincible in action, of magnetic influence over men, and a large knowledge of existing conditions, he found in this banishment a roving commission to fight for Christianity and a new Spain, untrammelled even by royal instructions. The once powerful sceptre of the Arab-Moors in Spain was falling from their paralyzed hand. The dynasty of the Beni Ummeyah had expired, beyond hope of resuscitation. The whole territory had been dissevered into prov-

His noble opportunity.

inces, cities, and even isolated castles, occupied as strongholds and safe retreats by many ambitious and crafty chieftains. They had become debilitated by climate and by inaction, and their faith had lost its first fervor and incitement. This was the specious argument of the Almoravides, whose crusade was against irreligion among the Moslemah, — a protestant reformation. They were declared to be effeminate and unbelieving descendants of the ardent and pious warriors who had, in one generation from their origin, invaded Spain more than three centuries before.

And while they were invaded from the south by the locust-like hordes of the Almoravides claiming to be of their own regenerated faith, the Christian Spaniards, ever marching down from the north, were becoming daily stronger and improving the prestige of advance: the reconquest was in full and inundating tide. To the wonder of Don Manuel Quintana, that the Peninsula was not sooner wrested from the Moslems, it can only be answered that the Christian progress was delayed by the fatal buttress of the African invaders.

In this condition of things, it will readily be seen what "ample room and verge" there was for irregular soldiers, led by brilliant *condottieri,* to achieve great conquests, in the name of Spain, but for their own behoof. "Such," says Quintana, "was probably the Cid in his time, but with more glory, and perhaps with greater virtues." [1]

Thus, for a period expatriated, the Cid looked around him for *hazañas* and fortune. He had not

[1] Vidas de Españoles célebres, p. 6.

long or far to look. After his expulsion from Castile, he marched to Barcelona, and thence to Saragossa, in search of adventures. The Moorish king of the latter city, Ahmed I., received him with pleasure, and employed his arms against his enemies until his death in 1082, giving the Cid great authority in the little realm.

He marches to Saragossa.

In the year 1081, Alfonso VI. had succeeded in capturing Toledo, and making it his court and capital. The sordid monarch once more put aside his envy when he found that he needed the services of the Cid against the Almoravides; and so a truce was patched up between them, which would last as long as royal self-interest prompted. But the Cid was no longer available as a simple subordinate. The best terms which the king could make were to continue to the champion the roving commission he had already taken in his time of exile, and to permit him to attack the Moslemah, petty kings, and invaders alike; to capture their cities, and rule them with an authority which they at least could not dispute. The Cid made haste to avail himself to the utmost of such latitude. Hearing that Ramon Berenguer, not content with his domain of Barcelona, had laid siege to Valencia, he sped thither with a rapidly-recruited army of seven thousand men, relieved the siege, and entered Valencia, which he made the seat of his government, tributary only to King Alfonso.

Is recalled by Alfonso.

Alfonso had married the daughter of the Moorish king of Seville, who, as has been seen, had invited the Almoravides to come over into Spain. These, with

their first successes, had turned against their Moorish ally, who was soon obliged to apply to his Christian son-in-law for assistance. When the Spanish monarch, espousing this quarrel, marched against Yúsuf, he sent letters to the Cid to join him. Affecting to be angry at the Cid's delay, he once more put him under sentence of banishment; confiscating his estates again, and even going so far as to seize and imprison his wife and children. Rodrigo explained his tardiness, but could gain nothing more from the monarch than the release of his family. The anger of Alfonso emboldened his other rivals and enemies. Again Count Ramon took the field against him; but the energetic Cid marched at once to meet him, and defeated him after a furious battle, taking all his spoils and making the Count prisoner. In this action, the Cid was severely wounded, and lay in his tent. The captured Count was brought to him; but, when he might have expected in his own person the rigor of war, he was surprised by the magnanimity of the wounded hero, who generously released him without conditions.

But again suspected.

Still once more is repeated the sordid selfishness of Alfonso and the grand importance of the Cid. It was now in the year 1092. The Almoravides had spread themselves all over Andalusia, and so great was their power that they seemed to threaten the Christian dominions. The Cid received a letter from Queen Constança, the daughter of the king of Seville and wife of Alfonso, directing him to join the Spanish monarch with all speed. This time there was no delay. The Cid was just laying siege to Liria with

an assurance of an easy capture; he raised the siege in obedience to the order, and was received by the king with great honor. Everything promised well for the permanence of this new alliance. Joining their forces, they marched to Granada; and, upon their arrival before that town, all unconscious of evil, the Cid encamped his troops in the *vega,* or plain, while those of Alfonso occupied a less comfortable position on the hillside. Envious courtiers pointed this out to the king as an intended discourtesy, and the jealous monarch echoed their words: "See how Rodrigo affronts us: yesterday he lagged behind us as if fatigued; to-day he goes ahead of us as if he claimed precedence." [1] "Was it," says the Spanish biographer,—"was it envy or prejudice or revenge? The obscurity of the times does not permit an answer; but the circumstances with which this aversion comes to us mark it as unjust, and it is an indelible stain upon the fame of that monarch."

They march to Granada.

Considering himself in danger, the Cid withdrew from the royal host secretly at night, leaving some of his troops behind him.

Meantime Valencia had exchanged masters more than once. This fine city, situated near the mouth of the Guadalaviar, was founded by Junius Brutus as a settlement of veterans, on an old Phœnician site, in the year 136 B.C. Its name is the Latin synonym for the Greek Ῥώμη: it was destined to be a Spanish Rome. Destroyed by Pompey, in his

The importance of Valencia.

[1] "Ved como nos afrenta Rodrigo: ayer iba detras de nosotros, como si estuviese cansado, y ahora se pone delante como si se le debiese la preferencia." — QUINTANA, *Españoles Célebres,* p. 10.

Spanish campaign, it was rebuilt and occupied by the Goths early in the fifth century. It became a favorite city of the Arab-Moors from the date of its capture by Abdu-l-'aziz in 712, and for a long time was included in the province of Cordova. When the Ommeyan dynasty fell to pieces, or was about to break up, Valencia became an independent kingdom under the dynasty of the Beni Abí 'Amir,[1] and remained so until its final occupancy by the Cid. When Alfonso VI. had taken Toledo from its Moorish king in 1085, he had compromised by placing the dethroned monarch, Al-kadír Yahya, upon the tributary throne of Valencia, and surrounded him with Spanish troops.

Ibn Jehaf calls the Almoravides.

But treason soon reared its head in Valencia, — treason against the Christian king by scorning the authority of his tributary. A certain Ibn Jehaf, trusting the prestige of the Almoravides, called them to Valencia, and, to aid their entrance, raised a revolt in the city, which was successful. Yahya sought to escape through the tumult in the dress of a woman, but was discovered by Ibn Jehaf, who without pity cut off his head. Here was work for *el mio Cid*, — work for Christian Spain, to avenge cruel injustice, and which offered a kingdom for himself. For the space of twenty months he besieged Valencia, which Ibn Jehaf defended with the energy of despair. But the result could not be resisted. The besieged were starving. The Almoravides did not come to succor them; the elements conspired; the

[1] Gayangos, Al Makkari, Chronological Tables at the end of vol. ii., Table XII.

rains descended and the floods came; men did not remember such a down-pour; the roads were destroyed; the bridges swept away: it was announced that the Almoravides had retreated, and even gone back to Africa; and so the city surrendered while a Valencian poet was chanting its dirge.[1]

On the fifteenth of June, 1094, the Cid made his entry into the captured place, and, ascending the highest tower, he surveyed with new joy the possession which was to be his during his life, and which he owed neither to Spanish kindness nor Moorish alliance; his by his own good sword. He received the homage of the principal men; but refused the large treasure offered him by the insurgent, Ibn Jehaf, because with him he was to have sterner dealings. I dwell for a moment on the details, because they mark both the man and the condition of affairs.

The Cid enters the city in triumph.

By the voice of a herald the Cid issued an invitation to all the patricians to meet him in the garden of Villanueva. In a hall covered with mats and hung with tapestry he caused them to sit before him, and addressed them in words which the chroniclers have ventured to reproduce. As presenting a portraiture of the man, and his motives and purposes, the address given in the "Cronica General" is thus valuable to the historian. Perhaps it gives us, at this crowning moment, a juster judgment of his personality and his place in the confused movements of the day than all

[1] Preserved in the "Cronica General," and the Spanish version given by La Fuente, Historia de España, IV. 409. Quintana, Españoles Célebres, 18.

the legends, full as they are of philosophy. "I am a man," he began, "who never possessed a kingdom, although I am of royal lineage.[1] When I first saw this city, it pleased me, and I desired it; and I besought the Lord to make me master of it. See how great is the power of the Lord! On the day when I reached Cebolla I had no more than four loaves, and now God has been so merciful as to give me Valencia, and I am lord of the city. If I act justly in it, God will retain me in possession; if I do injustice, he will turn me out. So, let every one recover his estates and enjoy them as before; he who finds his lands ploughed, let him take possession; let him who finds them sowed and cultivated pay for the seed and the labor. I desire, likewise, that the collectors of imposts shall demand only a tenth, according to your custom. I have determined to hear you in judgment two days in every week, — Mondays and Thursdays: but, if you have any urgent business, come when you please, and I will hear you; as I am not a man to shut myself up with women, to eat and drink, like your nobles, who can rarely be seen: I shall attend to your business myself, as your companion, and protect you as a friend and father."

His address to the patricians.

Then he added: "Much has been told me concerning the evil deeds of Ibn Jehaf towards some of you; that he has seized your goods to present them

[1] This "royal lineage" may be found in Quintana, Appendices á la yida del Cid, p. 16. "Diaz Lamez (the Cid's father), priso por mulier filla de Roy Alvarez de Asturias, . . . é hobo en ella a Rodric Diaz."

to me. I have refused to receive them; for, if I desired your possessions, I could take them without asking any one: but God preserve me from doing violence to any person to secure what does not belong to me; . . . what Ibn Jehaf has taken shall be restored without delay. I require you to swear that you will comply with my instructions without reservation. Obey me, and do not break the compact we are making. . . . Finally, you are now tranquil and safe; for I have forbidden my people to enter your city for traffic. I have designated as a market the *Alcudia,* out of consideration for you. I have ordered that nothing shall be taken from any one within the city. If any one contravenes this order, slay him without fear. I do not wish to enter Valencia myself, nor to live in it. I desire to establish on the bridge of Alcantara a residence (*casa de recréo*), a place to which I shall sometimes resort for repose (*un logar en que vaya á folgar á las veces*)."

These gracious words were received by the conquered people with great relief and pleasure; but the Cid soon found reason to change his plans. He first proceeded against Ibn Jehaf, and, after putting him in close confinement, he discovered, by the revelation of a slave, his immense concealed treasures of gold and precious stones. Contrary to the promise made in his address, he took up his quarters in the palace of Valencia, and again summoning the principal men of the city, he addressed them in this wise: "You well know, chief men of the Alhama of Valencia, how I served and aided your king, and what toil I underwent before

Another address of a different tenor.

gaining this city. Now that God has made me its master, I desire it for myself and those who have aided me in taking it, saving only the sovereignty of my lord, King Alfonso. You are here to execute my pleasure. I could seize all that you possess in the world, — yourselves, your children, your wives; but I will not do it. It pleases me and I ordain that the honorable men among you, those who have always been loyal, shall live in Valencia in their houses with their families; but not one of you shall have a mule or a servant, not one shall use or keep arms, except in cases of necessity, and with my permission. The remainder of the people shall leave the city, and live in the Alcudia, where I was before. You shall have mosques in Valencia and in the Alcudia; . . . you shall live, under your own law, with your *alcaldes* and *alguazils*, whom I shall appoint; you shall possess your heritages, but shall give me lordship over all your rents. I will administer justice and coin my own money. Let those remain who choose to live under my government. Those who do not, let them go freely, but their persons alone: they may take nothing with them. I will give them safe conducts."

"This discourse," says the historian, "left the Moors as sad as the former had made them glad."

The manifesto of a ruler.

It was the manifesto, not of the conqueror on the morrow of his conquest, but of a ruler who had come into his kingdom. He at once proceeded to execute judgment upon Ibn Jehaf, for his murder of Yahya, and his usurpation of power.

The Arabian authority of Condé displays the conduct of the Cid in this transaction as cruel and false

in the extreme; to the Moslem he was the tyrant "Cambitur,"[1] the accursed Cambitur, who violated all compacts and was without humanity. He had promised to Ibn Jehaf not only safety for himself, his family, and the citizens of Valencia, but even that he should be retained in the government; and now he broke his word, and prepared to execute the unfortunate wali with most terrible tortures. On one of the last days of May, 1095, a vast pile was kindled in the great square of the city; and the flames were so fierce that, like the furnace of "the three children," it destroyed even the nearest spectators. Into this the children and wives of the fallen governor were to be cast; but at the universal cry for mercy the Cid relented concerning them at the last moment. But for Ibn Jehaf there was no reprieve. Within a short distance of this great fire a pit was dug, and he was placed in it, "even to the girdle." Then he was surrounded with a wall of dry wood which, soon taking fire from the surging flame, consumed him even as he was ejaculating, "In the name of Allah, the Pitying, the Merciful!"[2]

The vengeance on Ibn Jehaf.

Notwithstanding the famous efforts of the Almoravides to recover Valencia, it remained in the hands of the Cid until his death, and was the strong base of his operations against the enemy's posts on the Mediterranean. With impaired health, his own ener-

[1] Their corruption of *Campeador*.

[2] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, Vol. II. part iii. ch. xxii. I see no necessity to attempt the exoneration of the Cid. Such actions as this were part of the fearful system of vengeance practised on both and on all sides at this period in the history of the Peninsula.

gies were somewhat relaxed, but it is hard to believe that when his colleague, Alvar Fañez, was routed near Alcira, in 1099, he was so affected that he died of grief (*de pesar*). Whatever the cause, his noble and valiant career came to an end in July of that year. His heroic wife, Ximena, continued to hold the city against the attacks of the Almoravides for two years, until 1101. In that year King Alfonso entered it, and finding that he could not retain it, burned the principal buildings, and left it to be again occupied by the forces of the Almoravides. A word more will conclude its story. It remained in Moorish hands till the year 1228, when it was recaptured by King Jaime of Aragon, and held by that kingdom until, by the union of Ferdinand and Isabella, it became part of the Spanish dominion.

The death of the Cid.

Upon its evacuation by Alfonso, the body of the dead Cid was mounted upon his steed, Babieca, — a usual custom in the removal of warriors for burial, — and by slow journeys was taken to the cloister of the monastery of Cardeña. There, placed upon a throne with Tisona in his hand, the story is told that a coward Jew plucked the dead hero by the beard: the insult lent momentary vigor to the corpse, which, with one blow, felled him to the earth. The miracle may be explained by considering how the majesty of death enhanced the majesty of the hero, and caused the offender to fall back in a panic of awe.

His faithful Ximena followed him to the tomb in 1104, and her remains were placed with his to share their changing fortune. First moved to a

chapel, near the high altar in the monastery, they were taken to the sacristy in 1447; thence back to the chapel; whence, in 1736, they were removed to the chapel of San Sisebuto. In July, 1826, they were carried back to the monastery of Cardeña, but, soon after, they were taken to Burgos, and placed as a final resting-place, let us hope, in the Casas Consistoriales.[1] In the Sala Capitular of the Cathedral may be seen *el cofre del Cid*, that chest which he filled with sand, simulating treasure, upon the weight of which he raised a loan from the Jews. But the dissimulation went no farther: he paid it back!

His remains.

In the cathedral at Salamanca is his well-authenticated crucifix which was borne in the van of his battles, — *el crucifijo de las batallas.* It was brought to Salamanca by his own bishop, Geronimo, who built the old cathedral in 1102. In the Calle Alta, or high street of Burgos, is pointed out the site of his house, which was cleared away and the spot marked by pillars in 1771.

These are authentic remains: La Colada, which the visitor may see in the Armería at Madrid, is doubtful; it is ascribed also to Hernan Cortez. The true one and Tisona were both taken from the Moors,—Damascus blades of rarest temper, which he called his *queridas prendas*, dearest of all things after his wife and children; petted and talked to like the

[1] In the "Apendices á la Vida del Cid," Quintana, p. 17, will be found: "Provision del Emperador, Carlos V., al Monasterio de Cardeña, con motivo de la traslacion, que se habia hecho de los cuerpos del Cid y Doña Ximena."

"brain-biter" of Saxon Hereward, — bread-winner as well.[1]

A peerless hero in history.

I declare that, in my judgment, there is no finer hero of romantic history than the Cid Campeador. Well may the Spaniard be proud of him! A devoted son, he avenges the insult to his father's gray hairs; a model husband, he presents his faithful Ximena to history as the partner of his fame; and she, more loyal than Arthur's Guinever, finds no Lancelot du Lac to seduce her from her hero. He protects his daughters and redresses their wrongs. In spite of royal ingratitude and injustice, whether at court or in exile, he is true to his king and country, — *Castellano á las deréchas;* bearing always in the front of his host the symbol of our redemption, he was a crusader and a Christian.

And so, in that lurid picture of the embattled Peninsula at this period, we discern as distinct elements, — Alonzo and Christian Spain; the petty Moorish kings struggling in the grasp of the serpents of Laocoon; the Almoravide host glooming in the south, and one man, "solo un Rodrigo," distinct from all, mounted on Babieca, with Tisona in hand, — a truer Arthur,

"From spur to plume a star of tournament,"

and crying with magnificent egotism, "Soy el Cid, honra de España;"[2] and the people respond, "El mio Cid,

[1] Swords spoke in their inscriptions, which were epigrammatic. On one of these was the instruction, "No me saques sin razon; no me envaines sin honor" (Do not draw me without good cause; do not sheathe me without honor).

[2] The opposite delineation is found in the Arabian writers who call him "cruel, rapacious, fierce, perfidious, merciless."

nacio en buena hora." On the still-existing tomb, erected by Alfonso el Sabio in 1272, at San Pedro de Cardeña, over the gate of whose convent may be seen a mutilated figure of the Cid on horseback riding over prostrate Moors, is the epitaph,—

> "Belliger invictus, famosus Marte triumphis,
> Clauditur hoc tumulo magnus Didaci Rodericus."[1]

[1] Around him are the effigies of Ximena, of Doña Elvira, Queen of Navarre, and Doña Sol, Queen of Aragon. Beneath a mound, buried deep, lie the remains of Babieca, his matchless steed. The Cid's only son, Rodrigo, was killed at Consuena. The marriage of his daughter with the King of Navarre sent his blood through many alliances into the present royal house of Bourbon.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ALMOHADES: THEIR ORIGIN, SUCCESSES, AND FINAL OVERTHROW.

WE reach, in the current of the history, what is called by the Mohammedan writers the "second civil war," which grew out of the sudden rise and rapid spread of a new party or people in Africa, announcing new views in religion, and intending by their dissemination to prepare the way for military conquest. Similar causes to those which had produced the dynasty and dominion of the Almoravides in Africa and Spain gave spirit and form to the rising of the Almohades. It was a war of Africans against Africans; and the new-comers proclaimed themselves as enemies at once to the Christian infidels, and to the perverted doctrine and evil lives of the Moslemah who preceded them. In the seething hive of Africa a new swarm had been born, and were ready to seek the brightest and richest land in which to build their cells.

The new rising in Africa.

It was now the beginning of the twelfth century, and Ali Ibn Yúsuf was emperor of Morocco and king of the Spanish Almoravides. His empire had all the promise and token of permanent prosperity, even

when the child had been born who was to overthrow it. There was, in Cordova, an obscure youth named Abú Abdillah Mohammed, of the lineage of the Berber tribe of Mac Mouda, whose father was a lamplighter, or burner of tapers at the shrines of saints in the great Aljama. In that famous seat of religion and learning, this youth had made the study of the Korán his favorite occupation, and had been taught much, and had speculated much, concerning the diversities of Mohammedan doctrine, and the condition of the Moslem world. He travelled to the East in search of further knowledge, and at last reached Baghdad while the first crusade was in progress, which resulted in placing Godfrey de Bouillon on the throne of Jerusalem.

Baghdad, thus severed from the West, had lost much of that loyalty to the faith which had characterized its Moslem founders. The youth found, teaching in the academies, and in high repute, a philosopher named Abú Hamed Algazali, and well knew the doctrines he taught were heresies in the eyes of the Spanish Moslems. "Who are you, and whence come you?" asked the teacher. "From Al Aksa," was the reply. "Have you been to Cordova?" "I have." "Do they know my work, 'On the Regeneration of the Sciences and the Law'?"[1] "Yes, they know it; and have burned it, with your other writings, by direction of the academies, in Cordova, in Fez, Morocco, and elsewhere!"

Abú Abdillah Mohammed goes to Baghdad.

[1] "El Renacimiento de las Sciencias y del Ley."

I have recited this colloquy between an itinerant youth from the West and a heretic teacher at Baghdad, because out of it grew a great dynasty, and a powerful element in the Mohammedan dominion of Spain. It was the seed of which the Almohades were the full and baleful growth; and this growth was marvellously rapid.

The philosopher became pale with rage, and suggested to Abú Abdillah, what had already entered into his thought, to undertake a new revolution among the teeming peoples of Africa; to overthrow the fools who could think thus ill of his doctrine; to reform the Almoravide reformation; and — such was the conclusion — to wrest the empire of Morocco and Spain from the unworthy hands of the Almoravides, to whom, for their sins, God would not permit further conquests for the faith.

Abú Abdillah lost no time. He took upon himself the title and office of *El Mahdi*, the conductor or guide. The next thing was to find a military leader with whom he could work, and whom he could control. He selected a good, earnest, and handsome youth, whom he called Abdu-l-mumen (servant of God). He instructed him in the faith, and as to his own designs, and then took him, preaching as he went, to Bougie, where the inhabitants drove them away; to Tlemsen, where El Mahdi was honored as a saint; and at last, to Morocco.

And becomes El Mahdi, the guide.

There he preached fearlessly against the corruptions of the court and the people. One Friday, at the time of assembly, he went into the mosque, and took the king's seat. When, on the king's entrance,

he was directed to vacate it, he replied, "This temple belongs to God alone." Then, reciting some verses of the Korán, he addressed a vehement admonition to the Prince of the Faithful.[1] The first wonder of the congregation increased as they saw that the monarch was abashed, and did not resent this presumption. He proceeded to ruder actions. A few days later, the king's sister, Soura, was riding in the street without a veil, — a common and not improper practice in the West.[2] He rebuked her, and so rudely struck her mule that she was thrown to the ground. Even her tearful recital of this insult could not move the "pious and feeble Ali" to punish the reformer.

El Mahdi and Abdu-l-mumen at Morocco.

To gain the odor of sanctity, El Mahdi established himself in a hut built in the cemetery; and, to the immense crowds who came to this hermitage, he preached from the tombs against the impiety and corruptions of the Almoravides. But there was a grain of worldly wisdom left. When at last the anger of Ali was fully awakened, the new prophet absconded to Tinmal, bearing in his train numerous proselytes, and leaving a great fame behind him. Tinmal he took for his temporary capital. From its rocky site, defended by precipices, he proclaimed himself the new Messiah, the evangelist of peace and good-will; and he declared Abdu-l-mumen his Amir and general.

The gathering tribes and people he divided into

[1] La Fuente, Historia de España. Dozy, Histoire de l'Islamisme, translated into French by Victor Chauvin (1879), p. 371.

[2] "L'usage de se voiler n'avait pas été adopté par les femmes Almoravides." — Dozy, *Histoire de l'Islamisme.*

nine classes, and strengthened his authority by creating two advisory councils,—one of fifty, and the other of seventy, men. The new horde or nation took its title from that of his office, *el-mehedi* or *el-mahdi.* They were thenceforth to be known in history as *Elmehedis* or *Almohades.*

His people called Elmehedis or Almohades.

In the year 1121, when Ali was returning to Morocco, from a visit to his Spanish dominions, the prophet and Amir of the Almoravides had collected ten thousand cavalry, and had marched to Agmat. With this begins their career of military conquest. We cannot enter into details. They encountered Ali and defeated him in three battles; and then, returning to the stronghold of Tinmal, they made it a base from which they could rush down and devastate the plains.

Four years were occupied in enlarging their numbers, and gathering wealth and the sinews of war. In 1125, El Mahdi thought himself strong enough to attack the capital of the Almoravide dominions. With thirty thousand men, his general marched to Morocco; but he had counted without his host. The emperor, in a successful sortie, drove him away in entire discomfiture. Again and again this attempt was renewed without success; but in the meantime, El Mahdi, tempted by the condition of affairs in Spain, was preparing to invade the Almoravides there. His projects were frustrated by his death, which occurred in December, 1129;[1] but he left the grand scheme in energetic and skilful hands, which carried it to an

Vain attempts to take Morocco.

El Mahdi's death.

[1] Dozy says 1128.

early completion. His Amir, Abdu-l-mumen, at once declared himself emperor of the Almohades. He assembled the principal chiefs of the people, and proclaimed his elevation as the last will of El Mahdi. The religious principle had been established: there was only needed now a conqueror. To give a bizarre character to his accession, he had instructed a bird to say in Arabic and in the Berber dialects the words, "Abdu-l-mumen is the defender and bulwark of the state." After his harangue, these words came upon the silence of the assembly like a voice from heaven; and, at the same moment, from a secret door, bounded a young lion, which, to the astonishment of the terrified multitude, crouched at the feet of the new emperor, and licked his hands.[1]

Abdu-l-mumen Emperor.

With unremitted warfare for the space of three years, he reduced the limits of the Almoravides in Africa, and so occupied the attention of their emperor Ali and his son Táshefín that they were obliged to leave their Spanish dominions in a state of great confusion. Their principal treasures were at Oran, and when Táshefín in his flight had been killed by a fall over a precipice, Abdu-l-mumen entered Oran and made himself master of these rich resources in 1145.

But Fez and Morocco were still strong, and these he must gain before it would be safe to venture into Spain. The former city fell before an engineering stratagem: he dammed the waters of a river which traversed the place, and turned it, in an inundation, against the walls; they fell, and his

Fez and Morocco taken.

[1] This story, on the authority of the Khitab el Moluk, is given by La Fuente, Historia de España, Vol. V., note to page 93.

army entered and occupied the town with great slaughter.

Morocco alone remained. Taking its reduction for his own task, Abdu-l-mumen despatched his general, Ibn-Kusai, into Spain with ten thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry, fresh from the edge of the desert and the table-lands. His white banner was borne forward with uninterrupted success, overrunning Algeçiras, Gibraltar, Seville, Cordova, and Malaga.

The task of the emperor at Morocco was rendered easy by a grievous famine in the city. When summoned it could not refuse to surrender, but opened its gates after a feeble show of resistance. It is to the disgrace of the conqueror that when the starving garrison were at his mercy he murdered its chief; and this act was a signal for indiscriminate slaughter.

Established in Morocco, the African empire of the Almoravides was at an end; they were to have but a short and precarious tenure in Spain. Abdu-l-mumen anticipated their final destruction by taking the full title of universal dominion,—*Amir Al Mumenin*, (Commander of the Faithful).

Meanwhile this internecine war was of great aid to the advancing Christians in Spain; they captured city after city, while the despairing Almoravides, sometimes resisting, sometimes imploring their aid, found themselves between two fires, and were soon destroyed root and branch.

The Christians advance.

Thus, in the year 1157, when Alfonso VII., king of the united realms of Leon and Castile, died, the Almohades were masters of Moslem Spain and promised trouble to the Christian conquerors.

It is not within the scope of this history to follow their fortunes in detail.[1] For the original Arabian settlers and their principles of government this was the worst of all the invasions. There was no longer place for the Arabians in the title of the Arab-Moors; it was a Moorish dominion, pure and simple. With the Almoravides, although stern conquerors, there had been something in common. At first their allies against the Christians, they never forgot that their ancestors had sprung from Yemen; but the Almohades, pure Africans, so far from sympathizing with the Arabians, made of the very name a title of proscription.[2]

While preparing for his greatest invasion, the emperor Abdu-l-mumen was called by Allah to his account in 1163.

Death of Abdu-l-mumen.

With varying fortunes, their power lasted in the Peninsula seventy years longer, to the reign of Idris Al-mámún in 1232, but was to receive its greatest shock in 1213, in the famous battle called *Las Navas de Tolosa,* which remains to be briefly described. After the death of Idris the remaining kings of the Almohades ruled only in Africa, the last of these being Idris II.

I propose to describe the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, because it was the greatest event in the phi-

[1] These may be found in most desultory fashion in the pages of Condé, part iii., from the 26th to the 44th chapter.

[2] "Los Almoravides no habían podido olvidar que sus mayores eran originarios de Yemen, y aun conservaban con los Arabes algunas atenciones, bien que los tratasen como á un pueblo vencido. Los Almohades, Africanos puros, hacían del orígen arabe un titulo de proscripcion." — La Fuente, *Historia de España,* V. 101.

losophy of the period; it was the mortal blow to the Almohades, and with them to the Moslem dominion. It gave new and wonderful momentum to the Christian reconquest. The fiery *élan* of the Almohades and their astonishing successes had alarmed not only the Spanish Christians but the whole Christian world. A united effort must be made to check their momentum: Spain was again considered the bulwark of European Christianity. Alfonso VIII. was on the throne of Castile, which had again been separated from Leon, but was before long to be reunited to it. His long reign of fifty-six years was drawing to a close. The splendid contumacy of the Albigenses in France had awakened a spirit of hot religious intolerance;[1] the bitter contests of creeds caused the sovereign to call the church to his aid in punishing infidelity and heresy; and thus, in this reign, the corner-stones of the Inquisition were laid, upon which the fearful structure was to rise rapidly and continue long, and enact within its walls the most terrible scenes of cruelty and injustice; to constitute free Spain — as its charters decreed it to be — a devil's den of despotism a thousand times worse than the worst autocracies of the East.

The fierce conflict of creeds.

With this preface, let us turn aside to consider a most unusual and exciting scene at Rome. Pope Innocent III. has decreed a three days' fast for men, women, and children to begin on the Wednesday after Trinity, May 23, 1213. A doleful

A strange scene at Rome.

[1] Immediately after his accession, Innocent III. sent legates to Toulouse to suppress them. The crusade against them was in 1208–9, only five years before the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.

procession of women, habited in mourning and headed by orders of nuns, are wending their way to the church of Santa Maria la Mayor. Thence, after fervent prayers and beating of breasts, they proceed to the piazza of St. John Lateran. In another part of the city have assembled the monks, regular canons, and parish priests; they form and proceed through the Arch of Constantine to the same rendezvous. Following the holy cross of St. Peter, the multitude of the faithful come to swell the numbers, and in the great square they find the Holy Father, with the college of cardinals, the bishops, and archbishops, and all the dignitaries of the pontifical court. With great solemnity the Pope takes from the church of St. John — its ancient repository — the wood of the true cross (*lignum crucis*). Then he goes, the multitude following, to the palace of the Cardinal Alberani, from the balcony of which he addresses the throng in impassioned and fervent words.[1]

What has given rise to this display of grief, solemnity, and devotion? An embassy from Alfonso exhibiting the condition of things in Spain and the imminent danger to Christendom. It had been received with great favor, and these exciting scenes were the result. The Pope earnestly entreated the alliance and aid of all Christian people; he issued a plenary indulgence to all who should take up arms in this holy cause: many high masses were said for the court and for the people, and a great crusade was preached against the infidel in Spain.

The crusade preached.

[1] La Fuente, Historia de España, Vol. V. p. 202.

The city of Toledo, the capital of Alfonso, was announced as the rendezvous of the crusaders, and thither in corps, in bands, and as individuals, they soon began to present themselves. In token of humiliation, and to guard against extravagance, orders were issued that there should be no luxury in dress, equipment, or living. As the numbers increased, it became a difficult problem to feed them, but Alfonso was able to meet it; he distributed the allies as they came in the rich fields within easy distance of Toledo, and thus too prevented the controversies which might have arisen between the different nationalities.

Rendezvous at Toledo.

To make head against this crusade was the task of Mohammed An-Nassir, the son of Yakub Al-mansur, now chief or emperor of the Almohades. There was special significance in his title, *An-násir lidíni-llah* (Defender of the Faith). His father, Al-mansur, had already done much to strengthen the army, but the emergency demanded much more. Mohammed left Morocco in June, 1212, and repaired at once to Seville.[1] Before his departure he had proclaimed the *Algihed*, or Holy War, which called on every Moslem to take the field; he ordered a massacre of the Christians who were found in Morocco in the Zahara, in Ethiopia and elsewhere in his dominions, who might form a *nidus* for revolution; and then hosts of the faithful, fresh from this slaughter, set out to swell his numbers in Andalusia. Thus the war was, on both sides, a holy war, and the conflict of creeds was the motive of the two hosts.

The Algihed, or Holy War.

[1] Al Makkari, Mohammedan Dynasties, II. app. lxviii.

King Alfonso lost not a moment in delay. His army, in splendid array, was put in motion on the twenty-first of June to meet the African swarms: it was headed by archbishops and bishops. Seventy thousand wagons carried his supplies. The van was led by Don Diego Lopez de Haro, and consisted of ten thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry. Then followed the troops of the kings of Aragon and Castile, forming distinct camps; and with the contingent of Castile rode Rodrigo Ximenes, the archbishop of Toledo, who was to be the historian of the war. Next in the train came the religious orders of knighthood of the temple of St. John, of Calatrava, and of Santiago, headed by their grand-masters; after which followed many other contingents, — nobles and simple gentlemen, with troops from Italy and Germany. Besides these forces, a sufficient number of troops had been left to guard the frontiers.

The Christian forces.

The third day after they were put in motion, that is, on the twenty-third of June, they had advanced to Calatrava, moving cautiously to avoid the caltrops with which the enemy had sown their pathway. The town was taken by assault, and the Moorish garrison, only a handful of men, taking refuge in the citadel, sent an earnest request to Mohammed for aid. This he did not or could not heed; and so the Christians scored their first success in the capitulation of this town. The Moorish garrison was allowed to go out free; and when the foreigners wished to break the compact and slay them, the Christian King refused and kept his faith.

Calatrava is taken.

The first check to the hopes of the Christians was

found in the waning ardor of these foreigners (*omes de ultra puertos*) who began to complain of the heat. Many deserted, but when in their retreat the deserters came to Toledo, the city refused to open its gates; and, as they marched by, the garrison reviled them from the walls as traitors and cowards.

But the fervor of the Spanish troops, although this made a great break in their ranks, was not at all abated; and the gaps were soon filled by the unexpected arrival of the king of Navarre with an army. The joy thus occasioned was great, for they had given over all hope of his joining in the contest. Thus reinforced, the van of the Christians moved to the pass of Muradal, which they forced, notwithstanding the stern resistance of the enemy; thence they advanced to the capture of Castro Ferral, which is situated near the eastern extremity of Las Navas de Tolosa. It was now the twelfth of July.

Capture of Castro Ferral.

We must pause for a moment to glance at the ground upon which the great battle was to be fought. The word *navas* means *plains*. On a sloping spur of the Sierra Morena, about seventy miles east of Cordova, and forty-five north of Jaen, in the upper valley of the Guadalquiver, there is an extended and somewhat sloping table-land. It lies, more exactly, about five miles to the right of the little modern hamlet called La Carolina. In order to reach this magnificent plateau, where simple battle-tactics would take the place of strategic movements, it seemed necessary

Las Navas.

that the Christians should force their way through the pass of Losa, which was strong by nature, and was defended by great numbers of the Moslem troops. What should be done? They must either force the pass, — a most difficult undertaking; or retire, — which would inspirit the enemy and discourage their own men; or find some way to avoid the pass, — of which they had no knowledge. From this serious quandary they were rescued by aid, which in the belief of the contemporary writers, was due to miraculous interposition. A shepherd, whose name has been preserved, — Martin Halaja, — was brought to the king, who, from having grazed his flocks for many years in that locality, knew the ground thoroughly. He told Alfonso of another pass, unknown to the enemy, by which the army might move unperceived to occupy the table-land. The adventurous chief, Diego Lopez de Haro, with one companion, followed the shepherd to test the truth of his story, and found it true. No time was lost in taking the army through this unperceived path; and on the fourteenth of July the entire Christian host found themselves on the immense plateau, ten miles in extent, and rising gently to its hill borders like an amphitheatre, thenceforth to be immortalized as Las Navas de Tolosa. Every soldier was ready to believe that the shepherd was an angel, sent by the Almighty to minister to his chosen people; and thus faith nerved every man with unwonted strength.

Christians led by a shepherd around the pass.

The army of Mohammed, on the first breaking up of the Christian encampment, rejoiced to think that

the host of Alfonso was retreating; when to their great astonishment they saw the Christian troops defile corps after corps upon the plain, and range themselves under their various banners in order of battle. But what were these few Christians in comparison with the Moorish forces who occupied the plain and hill-sides, like "countless swarms of locusts"? [1]

The Spanish king resisted the first efforts of Mohammed to bring on the conflict. Still regarding them as trembling for the result, the Moslem troops riding up to their ranks taunted them as cowards; and Mohammed wrote letters to Baeza and Jaen, declaring that the Christians would not fight.

The array of the Moslem chief was of unusual splendor. The imperial tent, which was pitched upon an eminence commanding the entire field, was of three-ply crimson velvet (*terciopelo, carmesí con flecos de oro*) flecked with gold; and its purple fringes were ornamented with rows of pearls. To guard it there were towards the enemy rows of iron chains, and a line of three thousand camels; in front of which, with lances planted upright in the sand, was a living wall of ten thousand hideous negroes, in African costumes.

The fortified tent of Mohammed An-Nassir.

In the centre of this strange fortress stood the Moslem leader, with his horse and shield beside him, wearing the green dress and turban of his ancestor Abdu-l-mumen, the founder of his dominion, which gave him, in the Christian ranks, the name *el rey verde.* In one hand he held his scimitar, and in the

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, III. ch. iv.

other the Korán, from which he read in a sonorous voice those passages which promised the rewards of Paradise to those who should fall in battle for the defence of Islam, and the pains of Hell to those who should shun their duty.[1]

On Sunday, June the fifteenth, the Moslem host was in line, impatient to join battle; but again the Christians refused to accept the Moslem defiance. Slowly the different corps took up their position during the day, and night came on without even a skirmish. It was impossible to pass another day in such close proximity without a battle. At midnight the voices of heralds were heard in the Christian camps, bidding the soldiers to confession, prayer, and mass; priests were busy in every command. Thus came Monday morning, the sixteenth; and as the sun was just beginning to gild the highest points of the Sierra Morena, it disclosed both hosts ready for the fray. The Moorish army, consisting of three hundred thousand regular levies and seventy thousand irregulars, was disposed in the form of a crescent in front of Mohammed's fortified tent: the Almohades in the centre; the desert tribes on the wings, and as light-armed troops in front.

The Christian force was arranged in four legions; in the centre being King Alfonso, with a banner bearing an effigy of the Virgin. With him rode the Archbishop Rodrigo, with many other prelates. The entire Christian army was less than one hundred thousand, or one fourth the number of the enemy.

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, III. ch. iv.

Zeal and prowess were needed to conquer this disparity.

When the sound of a thousand *atabals* and answering clarions gave signal for onset, the centres of the two forces met in mid-career; backward and forward surged the battle; until, at last, King Alfonso, turning to the Archbishop Rodrigo, exclaimed, "Archbishop, you and I must die here." "Not so," was the intrepid answer of the churchman; "we must triumph here over our enemies." "Then," said the king, "let us fly to the van, where we are sorely needed and most eagerly expected,"[1] for the foremost Moslemah were jeering the king and the prelate.

The battle begins.

The immediate action corresponding to these words turned the tide and saved the day. In vain one of his cavaliers, Fernan García, tried to stop the king, urging him to wait for succor. Recommending themselves to God and the Virgin, the king and the archbishop — the latter wearing his chasuble, and cross in hand — put spurs to their horses, and plunged into the thickest of the fight; the inspirited troops followed them with new ardor; the Moors, who had been jeering at the retreating king and the cross-bearing prelate, were driven back in wild confusion; and the battle became general.

The intrepid valor of the king and archbishop.

Just then, too, treason began to work in the Moorish ranks. Some of the contingents who had brooded over Mohammed's cruelty on a former occasion, "in

[1] La Fuente, Historia de España, V. 219. "Que así se burlaban de su pusilanimidad como denostaban al sagrado signo que en su mano traia, y le apedreaban," etc.

the unjustly inflicted death of that brave and noble captain, Ibn Kadis," turned their bridles and fled the field.[1]

But the great centre — the chief's tent with its living wall — was as yet untouched. Upon this the Christians now directed all their strength; the cavalry could not break it; they even turned their horses and tried to back them in, but without results. What the mass could not, however, do, was possible to individual effort. A single cavalier, Alvar Nuñez de Lara, stole through, winding between negroes and camels, and either broke or passed under the chains; and, as he waved his banner, a loud shout announced to the Christian advance that an entrance had been effected; another was soon in, and a third; the gaps widened; many rushed to join their adventurous comrades; and thus the charmed circle was broken. The camels were dispersed, and the negro guard put to the sword or to flight.

The Moorish king's camp pierced.

Mohammed's reading of the Korán was interrupted: he was like one dazed, repeating, "God alone is true, and Satan is a betrayer." An Arab, on a swift mare, came up. "Mount," he exclaimed, "and flee! not thy steed, O king, but my mare of a noble race, who knoweth not how to fail her rider in his need."[2] It was not a moment too soon: the king mounted and set off at a gallop, followed by his panic-stricken troops; and succeeded in reaching Jaen, to contradict in person his vainglorious letters of two days before. The rout was complete; the pursuit lasted till night-

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, III. ch. lxv. [2] Ib.

fall, and was only impeded by the Moslem corpses, which lay so thick that the pursuing force could not find room to pass.

On the field, just in front of the tent of the fugitive Moslem chief, the Archbishop Rodrigo, first enjoining the king to give thanks to God and to his gallant army, intoned, in a loud voice, the *Te Deum Laudamus,* the soldiers reverently and joyfully uniting in the holy chant of victory.

Again the historian doubts as he endeavors to estimate the losses in the two armies. With a natural exaggeration, the archbishop would increase the glory of the triumph by claiming "bis centum milia interfecta," — two hundred thousand Moslem slain. We are morally sure of the over-estimate, but can make no certain abatement. Twenty-five Christians are said to have fallen.[1] For those who remained, the spoils were rich and splendid, — gold, silver, vases, wagons, camels, horses, and beasts of burden; immense quantities of commissary stores, arms of all kinds. The number of lances was so great that the conquering army burned no wood but these while in that locality, and did not consume the half of them.

Losses on both sides.

Strict orders, with the threat of excommunication by the church, were issued against pillage; and as soon as a proper inventory and systematic division

[1] In the letter of Alfonso to the Pope, the number of Christians is stated through miraculous intervention to have been only twenty-five or thirty. The Archbishop of Narbonne says — not fifty. The fancy of La Fuente that the words of Rodrigo, "De nostris autem vix defuere viginti quinque," imply *milia,* and that the Christians lost twenty-five thousand, is scarcely tenable.

could be made, the king distributed the captured property among his troops and allies; leaving for himself only the great glory of the victory. The splendid marquée of Mohammed was sent to Rome to adorn the Basilica of St. Peter; and the captured banners were forwarded to Burgos, Toledo, and other cities, as waving proofs of the great conquest. The creeds had met, and the Cross was triumphant; and, ever since, the sixteenth of July has been kept as a holy festival to celebrate "el triunfo de la Cruz," when the captured banners are displayed in a grand procession.

The king preserved an emerald from among the spoils, and placed it in the centre of his shield.

It was to be expected, in that credulous age, that the victory of the Christians would be ascribed to miraculous agency. During the battle, it was said that a red cross like that of Calatrava was seen in the sky, to the joy of the Christians and the confusion of the Moslems; that the latter were struck with torpor at the sight of the Virgin banner; that the shepherd guide was an angel of the Lord: all which things were readily believed both by Christians and Moors.

The Christian army marched forward, taking and destroying towns, as far as Baeza and Ubeda; but, being then struck with general debility, and affected by a camp malady, owing to the heat and the malaria which it engendered, they retired from Andalusia, leaving behind them chiefly the moral effect of the great victory, from which the Moors never recovered. The Moslem emperor, rendered cruel and sullen by his defeat, stopped only long enough in Seville to ex-

ecute the principal traitors who had contributed to his defeat by deserting his ranks; and then, leaving his son in command in Spain, hastened to Morocco, where he shut himself up with his own gloomy thoughts; he died, it was thought by poison, in the same year.

Mohammed dies within the year.

His royal rival, Alfonso, while prosecuting his war against the king of Portugal, was seized with fever at the hamlet of Gutierre Muñoz; and, after receiving the last sacraments from the hands of the faithful Archbishop Rodrigo, died on the sixth of October, 1214, being fifty-seven years old, and having nominally reigned fifty-five years. "As, when Alfonso VI. is named, it is added, 'el que gano Toledo,' so the name of Alfonso VIII. is always accompanied with the phrase, 'el de Las Navas,' — the two great triumphs which decided the fate of Spain, and laid the foundations of its liberty." [1]

The death of Alfonso.

Doubtless, this truly important victory has been exaggerated by Christian writers; but the Arabian chroniclers concede a great defeat. There was still very much for the Spaniards to do in the work of ejecting the Moslems; a work which was still to go on with checkered fortunes for two hundred and eighty years; but which, however slow in execution, was certain of final accomplishment, for "from that day commenced the decay of the Moslemah power in Spain." The son of Mohammed and his immediate successors "raised the minarets once again, and, to a certain extent, succeeded in subjugating the Christian infidel,

[1] La Fuente, Historia de España, V. 235; Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, III. ch. lv.

of whose territories he occupied a considerable portion, which he had conquered by might of arms." [1] But the Christian kings, unhurt by the curse of Allah, pursued their conquests in Andalusia " until it pleased Allah to place it in the hands of the Beni Merine sovereigns, — to whom," prays the chronicler, " may he grant prosperity ! " [2]

The principal events in the battle of Las Navas — called by the Moors *Al'akáb*, or the *hill-side*— were recited by Alfonso VIII., in his letter to Pope Innocent III., announcing the victory. They are also related by the Archbishop Rodrigo, in his history, and by the Archbishop of Narbonne. These two prelates were eye-witnesses and actors in the great event; it is likewise told in various chronicles, chiefly in that of Alfonso el Sabio (" Crónica General de España "). Condé's Arabian authorities give a full account, with interesting details; Al Makkari is very short, — less than half a page; but I have dwelt upon this battle, because it was one of the few great decisive events in the decline of Moslem power, and because in the midst of the darkness and confusion it shines forth in the clear light of historic truth; it is described in detail by several eye-witnesses, by the collation of whose narratives a well-defined picture may be obtained.

Chronicles of the event.

[1] La Fuente, Historia de España, V. 235; Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, III. ch. lv.

[2] Ib.

CHAPTER V.

THE NEW KINGDOM OF GRANADA, FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT TO ITS EXTINCTION.

TO complete the sketch of the Moslem dominion in Spain, I shall only present, in an almost tabulated form, and with small citation of authorities, the principal well-known events in the remaining history, from the decline of the Almohades in the thirteenth century, to the extinction of the kingdom of Granada, in the last years of the fifteenth. It is a period of disorder and confusion, full of cross lights, burning brightly or dimly, and disclosing jostling figures, which remain upon the scene too short a time to be clearly discerned, if it were our purpose to individualize them, which it is not. All this forms a most interesting part of the history of the *reconquest.*

The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, which was fought in 1213, gave true token of the end. Idris (Al-mamún) was the last emperor of the Almohades in the peninsula. The people rose against him,[1] and drove him into Africa in 1232, and from that time their dominion was limited to Africa, where four Khalifs — one, Abdu-l-wahed II. being twice upon the throne — made head

The decline and destruction of the Almohades.

[1] Al Makkari, Mohammedan Dynasties, II. 336.

against the Bení Merines; and then the Almohades succumbed to the decree of Allah.

Both invading hosts — the Almoravides and Almohades — had conquered the petty kings and held the South in subjection; but, as soon as the Almohades disappeared, one of these little kingdoms sprang again into new life and consequence, and upon its fortunes the entire interest of the remaining history is concentrated. It was the kingdom of Granada, whose struggles and fate are vividly and romantically described in the chronicle of Washington Irving,[1] and more exactly and seriously in the excellent history of Prescott.

When Idris and the glory of the Almohades departed in 1232, it was to resist the assaults of the Beni Merines in Africa, and the ambition of Ibn Húd, setting forth to occupy the abandoned seats in Andalusia. There the latter proclaimed Al-Mostasem the Khalif of Baghdad, at this time the shadow of a name, for that khalif was then besieged in his capital, and within a few years Baghdad was to be destroyed, and with it the great dynasty of the Abbasides in the East[2] was to come to an end. But Ibn Húd lost his power and was assassinated.

A new element of strength now presented itself in

[1] La Fuente, Historia de España, IX. 405. Nothing could be juster than the criticism of "an illustrious writer," — "pero como dice un ilustrado escritor — estrangero tambien, haciendo justicia á la brillantez de sus descripciones y á su habilidad dramática, no se sabe en qué clase ó categoria colocar su libro, pues para romance hay en el demasiada realidad, y para crónica no hay bastante?"

[2] Ockley's History of the Saracens, p. 505.

the rise of the Beni Nasr, a family of station and power, which occupied, in the person of Mohammed I., Ibnu-l-hamar, the throne of Granada, and this family was to reign with varied fortunes for two hundred and sixty years.

The kingdom of Granada.

During the usurpation, if so it may be called, of Ibn Húd, the Christians had advanced to Merida and Badajos; and had sent an expedition in 1230, which was successful in capturing Majorca from a certain captain, Ibn Musa, who, protected by its insular position, had held it for the Almohades against all comers since the year 1209. The other Balearic Islands soon fell into the Christian hands. Valencia, which, as we have seen, was the stronghold of the Cid, and was reoccupied after his death by the Almoravides, remained in Moslem hands, the Almohades succeeding, until 1238, when it was captured by King Jaime of Aragon.[1]

The Christians take the Balearic Islands.

Step by step the relentless Christians advanced. The capture of Cordova by Ferdinand III. of Castile was a terrible blow to the Moslemah. Al Makkari, writing long after the event, says: "After a siege of several months he reduced Cordova, and on Sunday, the twenty-third of Shawwál of the year 636 (May 29, 1239), that seat of the Western Khalifate, the repository of the theological sciences and abode of Islám, passed into the hands of the accursed Christians!"[2] Almería next capitulated, and was united to the territories of Cordova, and so the reconquest marched

[1] Dominacion de los Arabes, III. ch. iv.

[2] Mohammedan Dynasties, II. 330.

on, — a long march, but with the goal and prize always distinctly in view.

In the mean time, as has been told, Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar had prepared to restore the kingdom of Granada, and began to fortify its chief city. He was at once resisted by the son of Ibn Húd, Yúsuf, who in the eastern provinces again proclaimed the Abbaside Khalif, while Mohammed declared himself Sultán of Andalusia, with tributary allegiance to the Sultán[1] of eastern Africa, in the hope of obtaining his assistance. He did not satisfy himself with proclamations. He felt himself to be the founder of a great dynasty, and he determined to achieve his greatness. Marching to Jaen, from his native town, Arjona, he sent before him secret emissaries, through whose intrigues he was proclaimed king at Granada. It was in May, 1238, that he arrived at that city in the evening and encamped without the walls. At dawn of the next day, he made his entry, remaining in the town until evening. As at sunset he was about to proceed to the castle, and had reached the gate of the *kassábah,* or palace, he heard the voice of the muezzin calling the people to evening prayer; upon which, without going any farther, Ibnu-l-ahmar entered the *mihráb* of the mosque, and recited the first chapter of the Korán, and then proceeded to the Castle of Bádís, preceded by men bearing wax tapers.[2] Thus the great Gra-

Ibnu-l-ahmar makes his entry into Granada.

[1] The title *Sultán* was first taken by Mohammed Ibn Sabah Ikeen in the eleventh century; and was thenceforth used in Spain. — Lane, *Arabian Nights,* I. 274.

[2] Al Makkari, Mohammedan Dynasties, II. 344.

nadine dynasty was inaugurated with prayer and self-devotion.

At first, with the purpose to extort the respect of the Christians, he made furious sorties, and defeated them in several encounters; and then, that he might have time, and relief from a constant necessity of defence, he made a treaty with them; by which he became their ally, and gave them vigorous aid in their expeditions against Carmona, Seville, and other towns, held by men of his own faith. He thus participated in the two years' siege of Seville, and when, on its capture, he was congratulated upon his share in the success, and saluted as *ghalib* (conqueror), he sadly replied, "Le ghalib illa Allah," ("There is no conqueror but God!") — a sentence which is on his coat of arms, and may be found incorporated with many of the arabesques of the Alhambra, of which the main structures are by his hand.

His alliance with the Christians.

But his alliance with the Christians did not prevent him from cultivating friendly relations with the Beni Merines of Africa, who could help him to make head against their later encroachments. Very soon the Christian bond was loosened, and he began to invade their territory. Ibnu-l-ahmar was a truly great man, and the Moslems in Spain suffered a great loss when he died, on the tenth of September, 1272. He was on an expedition to drive back a foraging party of Christians, when he stumbled and fell. The injury seemed slight, but was mortal; and he had only time to enjoin upon his son and successor, Abú Abdillah, to keep up the war and carry out his plans, when death overtook him.

His death.

The energy of Ibnu-l-ahmar was displayed in many activities. Valiant and skilful in war, he built a palace on the Alhambra, and surrounded it with hospitals, mosques, and colleges; he laid out its beautiful gardens, erected aqueducts, and filled the city with fountains. The waters of the Darro and Xenil were tapped near their source, and to-day Granada enjoys the great luxury in that climate of an inexhaustible water-supply.[1]

But we may not stop upon these details. The way is long, and must be rapidly traversed. Ibnu-l-ahmar was succeeded by his son, Abú Abdillah, known as Mohammed II. Obeying his father's injunctions, he called upon Yahúb, the Sultán of the Beni Merines, at Fez, to come to his aid, and captured Algeçiras, to serve as a receptacle and magazine for these African allies. He also presented Tarifa to Yahúb. The two allied forces then went out to meet Nuño de Lara with the Christian frontier troops, and routed him. But Mohammed was soon prevailed upon by his fears to renew the Christian alliance; and the Christian troops, thus freed from one enemy, soon wrested Algeçiras, Tarifa, Ronda, and other towns from the Beni Merines, who were, all but a small remnant, driven back into Africa. The detailed history of these adventures is full of romance, with here and there a touch of true pathos. After the successful siege of Tarifa in 1291 by King Sancho of Castile, a noble knight, Don Alfonso de Guzman,[2] was appointed governor of the

[1] Ford's Handbook for Spain, original edition, I. 301.

[2] The name is a corruption of the German *Gut Mann;* and, singularly enough, the Spanish chroniclers add to it *el Bueno.*

place. The recreant Don Juan, brother of the Castilian king, joined with him troops from Morocco to retake it. In the service of Don Juan, or, as some writers say, held as a prisoner, was a son — probably illegitimate — of Alfonso de Guzman. Him the besieger loaded with chains, and, displaying him under the wall, cried out to the governor that, if he did not surrender, his son should be put to death before his eyes. "He [the governor] silently unbound the sword from his girdle, threw it down to the prince for the fulfilment of his threat, and retired from the wall. Then the Moslemah, rendered furious by the contempt expressed in this reply, struck off the head of the youth, and, placing it on one of their machines, they cast it over the walls, that the father might not be able to doubt of his loss."[1] With stoic fortitude, when de Guzman heard the cry of horror which followed the tragic deed, and was told its meaning, he replied, "I thought the enemy had succeeded in entering our works."

The story of Alfonso de Guzman.

We pass rapidly over the succeeding events. Mohammed II. died in 1302, and was succeeded by a greater king, — Mohammed III., another Abú Abdillah. In a brief period from 1309, he was dethroned by a revolt of his brother, Nasr; but when, in 1312, Nasr in turn was forced to abdicate, he was succeeded by Isma'íl Abú-l-Waled, after whom came Mohammed IV., in 1315.

Mohammed III. and Nasr.

Meantime the Christian monarchs were always pressing the Moorish frontier. In 1309, Ferdinand

[1] Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, part iv. ch. 13. Another version is that Don Juan plunged his poniard into the youth's heart.

IV. of Castile succeeded in taking Gibraltar, while the troops of Aragon besieged Almeria, and thus the circle was ever narrowing, but not without bloody dispute. When Don Pedro, Infante of Castile, made his great effort against Granada in 1319, he was wofully defeated in the battle of Elvira, and his rich camp despoiled by the Moors.

Mohammed IV. succeeded in retaking Gibraltar from the Christians, and was again enabled to secure the assistance of the Beni Merines of Morocco. But he thus brought about his own destruction; for he was assassinated by his African allies, and succeeded by his brother Yúsuf in 1333. Prompted purely by self-interest, Abu-l-has, another leader, with sixty thousand men, beside the contingent from Granada, encountered the Christians near Tarifa in the year 1340, and was defeated with immense loss.[1]

Mohammed IV.

Yúsuf was assassinated by a madman in 1354, and was succeeded by Mohammed V., who bore the title of *Al-ghani-billah* (the man contented with God). But with men he had no reason to be contented. Driven from his throne by a revolt of his half-brother, Isma'íl, he first fled for his life to Guadix, and then to Africa, in the year 1359. And all these intestine quarrels were playing into the Christians' hands. Isma'íl, the usurper, held the nominal power less than a year, when he was dethroned and put to

[1] Al Makkari, Mohammedan Dynasties, LI. 356. Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, part iv. ch. xxii. He calls it the battle of the Guadacelito, a small stream running between the two camps. It is the *Salade* of the Christians.

death. His successor, Mohammed VI., surrounded by difficulties, came to the strange determination to place himself and his kingdom under the protection of that King Pedro of Castile whom history has named *el cruel*, but whom his adherents called *el justiciero*, the doer of justice. The Castilian king vindicated his claim to the historic title by putting Mohammed to death, and seizing "the countless treasures which he and the chiefs who composed his suite brought with them."

Mohammed VI. is assassinated by Pedro the Cruel.

To the throne, thus once more vacant by assassination, Mohammed V. returned, and ruled a second time, from 1362 to 1391. The length of this reign is due in part to the skill of the king, but chiefly to the truces made with the kings of Castile. Then came the reigns of Yúsuf II. and Mohammed VII., uneventful, except that, in the words of the Arabian chronicler, "the Mohammedan empire still went on decaying, until it became an easy prey to the infidels, who surrounded it on every side, like a pack of hungry wolves."[1] Many portents of ruin were displayed, and the public mind was already contemplating the entire success of the Christians.

I pass over a long period in which this disintegration was going on, accompanied by great confusion. Condé, depending but little for this later period upon Arabian authorities, has given a long, doubtful, and somewhat desultory account of men and events, so like each other, from year to year, that the student imagines the later pictures but repro-

A century of struggles.

[1] Al Makkari, Mohammedan Dynasties, II. 368. Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, part iv. ch. xxvii.

ductions of the earlier. It was a century of struggles, in which the Moors were being more and more restricted to their little kingdom of Granada, and the Christians were strengthening to dislodge and expel them. And thus, for all the purposes of this history, we may pass at one long step from the death of Yúsuf II., in 1395, to the spring of 1478, when one Abu-l-hasan, a man of great and famous valor, then reigning at Granada, reviewed his troops for an entire month from the Alhambra; and, as they defiled before him, gloried in what seemed an impregnable defence.

We have now reached literally the beginning of the end. Failing to make an advantageous treaty with the Christians, the Moorish king surprised and occupied Zahara, and destroyed its houses and walls to such an extent, that a Moorish santon oracularly declared that the ruins would fall on their own heads. The fulfilment was not long wanting, for the Moslems were to receive a blow more ruinous than any yet struck. Looking about him for the best method of vengeance, Ferdinand of Aragon, who, by his marriage with Isabella of Castile, had united the two crowns, was informed that the important strategic town of Alhama, — "the land-key to Granada," — in the very heart of the territory, depending upon its natural defences, was, in one part, carelessly guarded, and might be taken by surprise. Nothing but the fall of Granada itself could be more destructive to the Moslem cause. "The town is perched on the edge of a deep rent in the hills, round which the river Marchan sweeps, and backed by its own sierra, in which the Tezáda

The strength and importance of Alhama.

rises eight thousand feet above the sea."[1] Besides its natural strength, Alhama was important to Granada in many other respects. Situated only twenty miles away from the capital, it had valuable cloth-factories and other industries, but was chiefly noted for the warm baths, which gave it its name, Al-hammam,[2] which were a great resort of the court and gentry of the capital. To reach it the Christians must cross the Xenil and the mountain range, through a country thickly peopled with the most enthusiastic of all the Moslemah in Spain.

The Marquis of Cadiz undertook the task of capturing Alhama with three thousand cavalry and four thousand foot; marching around Loja, still strongly occupied by the Moors, through Archidona and Antequera; concealing his forces as much as possible by day, and proceeding by night, on the third day he debouched into the valley below the town. Up to that time the troops even were ignorant of their destination. It was now divulged, and excited a great enthusiasm.

With scaling ladders they mounted the walls; killing the sentinels, and before the inhabitants were aware, three hundred men were within the place, and, announcing the fact by the sound of trumpets, they opened a gate through which the Christians rushed to take possession. There was much hand-to-hand fighting in the streets,[3] but the capture was soon complete.

Great, indeed, was the consternation in Granada

[1] Ford's Handbook for Spain, I. 290.

[2] Ib. The name is also found in the Hhammum of Cairo; and in the corruption, the Hummums of Covent Garden in London.

[3] "Palmo a palmo iban estos forzando y ganando las trincheras y empalézadas," etc. — LA FUENTE, *Historia de España*, IX. 252.

when the tidings were received. *Ay! de mi Alhama!* ("Alas for my Alhama!") was on every tongue; and echoes in our ears to-day in the sad chant —*patetico romance*— of a Granadine poet, who describes the king's grief and rage when a messenger arrived with the news.[1] The bearer of the ill-tidings, if we may trust the ballad, was at once put to death. But the king acted as well: a force was at once despatched from Granada to recapture the place; on their arrival they were shocked by the spectacle of dogs eating the Moorish bodies which had been thrown from the walls. They were infuriated beyond

The capture of Alhama.

[1] "Paseavase el Rey moro
Por la ciudad de Granada,
Desde las puertas de Elvira
Hasta las de Viva Rambla.
Ay! de mi Alhama!

"Cartas les fueron venidas,
Que Alhama eran ganada.
Las cartas echó en el fuego
Y a mensangero matava.
Ay! de mi Alhama!

"Hombres, niños y mugeres
Lloran tan grande perdida.
Lloravan todas las damas
Quantas en Granada avia.
Ay! de mi Alhama!

"Por las calles y ventanas
Mucho luto Parecía;
Llora el Rey como fembra,
Qu'es mucho lo que perdía.
Ay! de mi Alhama!"

In his excellent version of these stanzas, Lord Byron fell into the error of translating "Ay! de mi Alhama!" by "Wo is me, Alhama!" whereas it means, "Wo to my Alhama!" or, "Alas for my Alhama!"

measure, and inspired with a determination to avenge their slaughtered brethren. They were, however, without artillery; and so, with unsuccessful attempts to undermine the natural wall, they resorted to the plan of cutting off the water, by placing troops under shelter to shoot down every one who should attempt to procure water from the river. The Christians were in great straits. Messenger after messenger was dropped from the wall, under cover of night, and sped away to bring succor. At last it came. The despairing Christians observed an unusual motion in the besieging army, and soon saw that a relieving force, under the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had arrived and raised the siege. Between this nobleman and the Marquis of Cadiz there had been a deadly feud, but the happy occasion brought them together. They embraced in sight of the whole army, and the new compact of friendship was the crown of the permanent possession of Alhama on the 29th of March, 1482. The doubts as to its maintenance were set at rest by the queen, Isabel, and it was put in a condition of impregnable defence.

The Christians receive succor.

The capture of Alhama may be regarded as the sure promise of the conquest of Granada. It was, indeed, the *key* with which, ten years later, the gates of the capital were opened. Not many words are now needed to complete the story of the expulsion of the Moors from Andalusia, called by La Fuente "la tierra clásica del Christianismo," in which, with the desire of possession, the Spaniards were fighting for the Faith.

The first attempt to take Loja was unsuccessful. Strong in natural position, encircled by hills, and

circumscribed by the Xenil, as a natural fosse, fortified by art, and, standing at the entrance of the magnificent Vega[1] of Granada, it was defended by Ali 'Atar, a valiant and veteran chief, whose deeds have been material for romance, but who appears with historic truth as the heroic defender of this town: when the attack of the Christians led by the king was repulsed, and his intended retreat was mistaken by his troops for flight, Ali 'Atar made a sortie which drove them away in rapid rout.

This success of the veteran Ali 'Atar was followed by a greater and more influential triumph. Alfonso de Cardenas, the Grand Master of Santiago, led by personal ambition, made a descent upon Malaga, through the defiles of the wild sierra known as the Axarguia. Waiting until the Christian force was entangled in the passes, Abú-l-hasan, aided by his younger brother, surnamed *El zagal, the valiant,* hemmed them in, cut them up, and rolled missiles upon them from the heights, slaying eight hundred and taking sixteen hundred prisoners.[2]

Mohammed XII. called Boabdil el Chico.

In the year 1482, the throne of Abú-l-hasan had been usurped by his eldest son, Abú Abdillah, whose name is corrupted in the Christian annals into Boabdil, called *el chico,* the little or younger, to distinguish him from the elder king of the same name; and who was to have the evil fortune to surrender the entire Moorish power in Spain to the Christians. In the list of Moorish sov-

[1] Arabicé, Bekáh, — a watered valley between hills. — *Ford's Handbook for Spain*, p. 291.

[2] See Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, I. ch. x.

ereigns he appears as Mohammed XII. The discord in Granada gave greater facility to the projects of Ferdinand. The wives of the old king were jealous of each other, and factions were thereby formed. The tribes and families fought against each other; and feuds like those mentioned in the romantic story of the Abencerrages and the Zegris, divested of their romantic character, were really taking place within the walls of Granada. Nor was the controversy confined to the nobility: the illegal power of Boabdil was contested by his uncle Az-Zagal (El Zagal), who held a precarious sway for four years, until 1487, when Boabdil again came to the throne. This was rendered more easy by the fact that, in a battle between the Moors and Christians in the territory of Lucena, not long after his accession, Boabdil was taken prisoner by the Christian forces. By a stroke of policy, the Christian king released his royal prisoner, in the hope that through him he might make a treaty. Boabdil went to Loja, which was at once besieged by Ferdinand, and this time captured, and with it the Moorish king again fell into the Christian hands. Again released, after many difficulties, he came into power.

Capture of Velez Malaga, and of Malaga, 1487.

The Christian conquests were not stayed by these circumstances. In 1487, they captured Velez Malaga, on the coast a short distance east of Malaga, and received the submission of many neighboring towns. In the same year Malaga was besieged and taken. In 1489, Baeza followed; then the important city of Almería, and at last the city of Granada stood alone to represent the Mohammedan dominion in the Peninsula.

The strife between Boabdil and El Zagal now came to an end; and the latter, perhaps foreseeing the fatal issue, embarked for Africa, leaving the nominal rule and the inevitable surrender to his rival. Only ten years had passed since the fall of Alhama. That important fortress, Loja, Velez Malaga, Baeza, Almeria, Guadix, were in Christian hands; the circle of fire was complete. The army of Ferdinand and Isabella was in splendid condition, and reinforcements were arriving from day to day. System and order prevailed, and the troops, elated with victory, acknowledged no possibility of failure.

Very different was the condition of things and very depressed the spirit of the people in Granada. Besides its own disordered population, it was crowded with disheartened fugitives, anxious for peace on any terms. The more warlike and ambitious representatives of the tribes were still quarrelling in the face of common ruin, but all parties joined in bitter denunciations of their king. When he had been released by Ferdinand after the capture of Loja, he had promised that when Guadix should be taken and the power of El Zagal destroyed, he would surrender Granada to the Christian king, and retire to some seignory, as duke or marquis. But now that the *casus* had arrived, he found not only that the people would not permit him to keep his promise, but that the very fact of his having made it constituted him an impious traitor, — "Llamaba impío, traidor y rebelde."

The disorders in Granada.

So far from being troubled at his refusal to perform his promise, Ferdinand was rejoiced at it. He indeed denounced El Chico as perfidious; but he

preferred to signalize by force of arms a conquest which would have lost historic value if only the result of submission. Nay, more, he was to have a new claim to right on his side. The only way in which Boabdil could appease the people was by an immediate declaration of war against the Christians. This was in the year 1490. When this was made known, Ferdinand and Isabella were at Seville, celebrating the marriage of the Infanta Isabel with Alfonso, crown prince of Portugal. The omen was a happy one. The armies of Spain and Portugal were immediately joined to put an end to the crusade. With five thousand cavalry and twenty thousand foot, the Spanish king advanced to the Sierra Elvira, overlooking the original site of the Granadine capital.

The epic and romantic details of the conquest may be read elsewhere. Within sight of the Moors, who lined the walls and looked from the towers of Granada, King Ferdinand made a grand display in conferring the honor of knighthood upon his son Juan, who was then but twelve years of age. There were sorties on the part of the Moors, and chivalrous duels between individuals, until the coming of winter, when, leaving proper guards and garrisons, the principal Christian force retired to Cordova, to make ready for the spring. El Zagal had returned from Africa and was now fighting in the Christian ranks.

The Spanish forces in the Vega, 1491.

It was an imposing array which was reviewed by Ferdinand on the twenty-sixth of April, 1491, in the beautiful Vega, about six miles from the city of Granada; the force consisted of ten thousand horse and forty thousand foot, ready to take

position in the final siege. If more should be needed more were ready to come.

As they manœuvred in full view of the walls, Boabdil called a council of war in his palace, and stated the case. What should be done? There were in the city two hundred thousand souls, and of these at least twenty thousand men capable of bearing arms; a fair proportion as against the besiegers. The provisions were ample for a long siege; there was plenty of water from the rivers Darro and Xenil; to the south at least were the mountain barriers and passes of the Sierra Nevada; the citadel of the Alhambra was almost impregnable with its continuous wall and numerous towers. The entire city was nearly nine miles in circuit, with twelve secure gates. It did seem as if they might make a successful resistance, and hope for African aid to give them a new lease of life. But these hopes were soon blasted. It was no part of the Spanish king's purpose to assault the place. The capture of the lower town of Granada would expose him to the artillery of the Alhambra. And so he laid his siege in the Vega, but used his troops in devastating the surrounding country, taking prisoners, and capturing cattle, so as to leave the besiegers no hope of supply when their ample provision should begin to fail.

Boabdil's council of war.

Meantime the Christian camp grew like a city, and when Queen Isabella came with her train of beauty and grace, it was also a court city in miniature. Her splendid silken tent became the palace, in front of which *fêtes champêtres* were intermingled with bloody tournaments, which were the delight of the period.

Once, in inspecting some fortification, she was nearly taken prisoner; blood was spilt, and the more adventurous of her defenders made a momentary entrance within one of the gates, but, not being supported, retired again to the camp. Another circumstance which at first seemed injurious and ominous to the Spanish fortunes was turned into positive advantage.

The Christian camp is destroyed by fire.

On the fourteenth of July one of the maidens in the queen's household carelessly placed a lighted taper near a curtain, which was blown by the wind against it, and a conflagration took place which destroyed the entire encampment. The Vega and the towers of the Alhambra were lighted up by the flames, and for a short time the Moors might rejoice in a disaster which seemed to paralyze the Christian labors. Not so; no one had been hurt; all set to work, noble commanders and private soldiers alike, with equal ardor, and soon in the place of the camp, rose a quadrangular city of wood, with two main streets crossing in the centre, where a lofty cross was erected: it was surrounded with palisades and had four gates.

Is replaced by the city of Santa Fé.

The army, devoted to their queen, would have called it *Isabel;* but she, with a piety which was also excellent policy, disclaimed the honor, and named it *Santa Fé,—the holy faith,* for which more than all else they were now in arms. The momentary elation of the Moors gave way to profound depression, and this induced them to capitulate. The last hour had indeed struck on the great horologe of history; and on the twenty-fifth of November the armistice was announced for making a treaty of peace and occupancy. Inevitable as it was, the

people were still further enraged against Boabdil for this compliance with fate. A crazy santon rushed about the streets denouncing him as a mean coward and impious traitor, and he was obliged to shut himself up to escape the public fury.

A truce was made and terms of surrender agreed upon. There were two instruments, — one public, in which all matters affecting the surrender were arranged, and the other private, which contained the special terms made with Boabdil and his family.[1] An examination of both leads us to consider the concessions of the Christians as more liberal than might under the circumstances have been expected. According to the first, the city was to be surrendered within seventy-five days from the promulgation of the treaty. The people were to be secured in all their rights, under the authority of their own laws and judges; their religion and their schools were to be respected. There should be no tribute demanded for three years, and after that it should not be excessive. The party of El Zagal only was excluded, and, if the terms should be respected, Granada in Christian hands might be even more

The terms of capitulation.

[1] The originals of these documents are preserved in the archives of Simancas. Exact translations in modern Spanish may be found in the Appendix to the ninth volume of La Fuente (Historia de España): a summary is also given in the text of La Fuente. I have not thought it necessary for the purposes of this history to dwell in this place upon the details of the capitulation: there are forty-seven articles or *items* in the first treaty, and sixteen in the second. The first is entitled, "Capitulacion para la entrega de Granada, fecha en el real de la Vega de Granada á 25 dias del mes de Noviembre de 1491 años." The second is called "Capitulacion Segreta." An English translation will be found in the appendix.

peaceful and prosperous than it had been under the Moorish dominion. There should be an exchange of Moorish and Christian captives on equal terms, and five hundred hostages, who were demanded until the capitulation should be completed, were to be returned when the Christian troops should occupy the fortress of the Alhambra. The secret capitulation secured to Boabdil, his family, heirs and assigns, all their patrimonial possessions; it ceded to him, in seignory and heredity, a certain territory in the Alpujarras, with a dozen towns (*una docena de pueblos*), which were specially mentioned, excepting the fortress of Adra; and there was to be given him on the day of the royal entrance into the citadel thirty thousand pieces of gold,[1] for which the discontented people thought he had sold his honor.

The grants to Boabdil.

The entrance into Granada had been fixed for the second of January, 1492, but was postponed to the sixth. On the second, however, as the morning sun began to gild the towers of the Alhambra, the troops were in line and awaiting the signal. Three cannon-shots from a Moorish battery burst upon the ears of the expectant besiegers. A select party headed by Mendoza, the Grand Cardinal of Spain, marched slowly up the *cuesta de las molinas* to the right of the Al-

[1] Item IV. "Es asentado que hagun sus Altezas merced al dicho rey Muley Baaudili de treinta mil *Castellanos de oro* en que montan 14 cuentos é 550,000 maravedis." — La Fuente, *Historia de España*, Vol. IX. App. p. 559. The *cuento* is a *million*. The modern *maravedi*, a word which shows its Almoravide origin, is less than a third of a cent, which would make the sum less than fifty thousand dollars of our money, representing of course a far greater value at that time.

hambra, until they reached the esplanade of Abahut, while Boabdil, issuing through the gate of the *Siete Suelos*, with fifty Moorish nobles, went to meet him. With respectful salutations, the king said in a loud voice and sad accents, "Go, sir, in a fortunate hour, go and occupy my palaces in the name of the puissant king to whom God, to whom all things are possible, has given them, on account of their great merits, and for the sins of the Moslemah."[1]

He then proceeded to the bank of the Xenil, near a small mosque, where the royal party awaited him. Ferdinand gracefully declined the hand-kissing in sign of homage, and Boabdil, presenting the keys of the city, exclaimed: "We are thine, O powerful and exalted king; these are the keys of that paradise. We deliver into thy hands this city and kingdom, for such is the will of Allah; and we trust that thou wilt use thy triumph with generosity and clemency."[2]

He gives the keys to Ferdinand.

Ferdinand embraced him, and claimed his friendship. Boabdil then drew from his finger a seal ring, and offered it to the Count of Tendilla, who had been named governor of the conquered city, with the words: "With this seal Granada has been governed; take it for your government, and God give you better fortune than mine."[3]

Thus the great and final expulsion of the Moslems was accomplished, as the consummation of the reconquest. Boabdil with his family was conducted

[1] La Fuente, Historia de España, IX. 396.

[2] Ib. 397. Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, part iv. ch. xliii.

[3] Ib.

with due honor, and with a view to his present safety, to the cardinal's tent at Santa Fé, to which improvised city the sovereigns returned, to await the grand entrance on the sixth. As soon as they got back to Santa Fé, Isabella, when she saw the silver cross which Ferdinand carried in his campaigns shining from that turret which has since been called La Torre de la Vela, could not restrain her pious enthusiasm. She threw herself upon her knees; her example was followed by the whole army, while the prelates and priests and chanters of the Chapel royal intoned the "Te Deum Laudamus," "which," says the historian, "was never sung with more devotion and fervor, nor on a grander or more solemn occasion."[1]

The formal entrance of the king and queen took place on the sixth of January.[2] We need not linger upon a thrice-told tale. Boabdil retired to his seigniory in the Alpujarras; turning at the point where a hill began to shut out the view of his beloved Granada, — "his paradise," — with sighs and tears he ejaculated, "*Allah Hu Akbar*" ("God alone is great"), and again, in answer to the consolations of his wizir, "Where then shall be found a misfortune to be compared with mine!" The spot, which is still pointed out to the traveller, was called by the Moors *Fey Allah Hu Akbar*, but by the Spaniards *La cuesta de las lagrimas*, the place of tears, where was given forth *el ultimo suspiro del Moro*.

The final entrance on January 6.

The last sigh of the Moor.

[1] La Fuente, Historia de España, IX. 398.

[2] I follow La Fuente, who cites *autores contemporáneos*. He says in a note (IX. 400), that Prescott is unwilling to believe this, notwithstanding the attestation of contemporary authors.

The epigrammatic rebuke of his mother Ayesha — "Thou dost well, my son, to weep like a woman, since thou hadst not the valor to defend thyself like a man"[1] — has done more than the events themselves to stamp Boabdil el Chico — *el Zogoybi*, the unlucky — with impotence and dishonor. They would make us think that he might, with proper vigor and manly purpose, have driven back the monarchs of Castile and Aragon, and transmitted the garden of Andalus to a long line of powerful successors. The story has been told to little purpose if the reader is ready to share this delusion.

The inexorable logic of history.

Slowly, step by step, we have seen the Christians, who, at the time of the conquest, had fled into the Asturias, making there a feeble stand, routing those who came thinking to destroy them root and branch, conquering province after province, and gathering strength with their progress. By the year 850, they had advanced to the Douro and the Ebro, and built those castles along the banks of the former stream which gave the name to Old Castile, *Castilla la Vieja*. By the year 1100, they had seen the famous dynasty of the Beni Ummeyah broken into fragments, and had followed the person and the shadow of the Cid from the Tagus to Valencia. African adventurers and usurpers had fared no better than the first Khalifs. The Christians had snatched a decisive victory from the Almohades at Las Navas de Tolosa. They had risen in civilization and in military skill, slowly but steadily, while the Moors had been

[1] La Fuente, Historia de España, IX. 402. Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, part iv. ch. xliii.

steadily falling from their first estate, exchanging Moorish virtues for Spanish vices, and Moorish activity for Spanish indolence. Thus the momentum increased, until it was written in the book of Fate, that the Moorish dominion must come to an end; and when the inevitable day arrived, Boabdil "the Unlucky" happened to occupy the throne of Granada. Thus the Moslem might find consolation and the Christian a call to thanksgiving, in the closing words of Condé: "Praised be God! who exalteth kings and who casteth them low; who giveth power and greatness at his pleasure; who inflicteth poverty and humiliation according to his holy will;—the fulfilment of that will is Eternal Justice, which regulates all human events."[1]

[1] The concluding sentence in Condé's Dominacion de los Arabes.

BOOK IX.

ARABIAN CIVILIZATION IN SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

LIGHT FROM THE EAST.—HAROUN AL RASCHID.

HAVING thus presented, for the earlier portion more fully and for the later in brief statistics, an outline of the Hispano-Arabian history from the establishment of the independent Khalifate of Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dăkhel in 756, to the expulsion of Abu Abdillah, or Boabdil el Chico, from the last halting-place in Granada, in January, 1492, we may now turn to the second portion of our inquiries; a consideration of the civilization which they achieved during this checkered occupancy of the Peninsula for nearly eight hundred years, and which as a great boon they imparted to western Europe.

This inquiry will give us a glimpse of their social system, including their domestic life; the development of administration and laws; their intellectual progress as displayed in the works of their great writers; their inventions and discoveries in science, their military organization, and their achievements in art.

Moral and mental development.

Such questions as these involve that real historic philosophy, which alone gives value to history,

and if they could be fully answered, would throw a brilliant light upon Spanish annals, and clear away mists that have hung over them, thick and malarious, from the earliest day even to our own.

Difficult as is this task, it appears at first sight more difficult than it really is. Their progress was not with uniform velocity during this extended period. It was magically rapid at the first, and soon reached its culminating point in the reign of Al-hakem II., in the first half of the tenth century, — known as "the golden age of Arabian literature in Spain."[1] From that time their progress was slackened, then soon stopped, and their power began to decline. And even of that brilliant reign it must be said that its chief glory was that in it there were collected and subsidized the splendid works of the earlier time, which form the renown of Haroun Al Raschid and his immediate successors. In the great library of Al-hakem is to be found the record of their earlier achievements. The most that can be attempted in a work like this is to present, in a synoptical view, the principal facts and events which elucidate these topics, each of which is worthy of a history for itself. No subject excels them in interest to the student of European history, for they contain the best elements of European civilization, and lie at the foundation of philosophic history.

As a necessary preliminary to our study of the civilization achieved by the Arab-Moors in Spain, we must now leave, for a brief space, the soil of the Peninsula, and retrace our steps to the new seat of

[1] Al Makkari, Mohammedan Dynasties, I. 418, note 1.

the Eastern Khalifate. It is important to inquire what the Khalifs of Damascus and Baghdad had been doing for humane culture. We shall find, in seeking for the answer to this question, that the Spanish Arabs received both impetus and material from their oriental brethren, who had themselves received these in greater part from degenerate Greece and from the countries they had conquered in the farther East. They at first aspired to be only the receivers and collectors of the existing treasures of literature, science, and art, which lay in torpid hands or were buried in dead letter. These they classified and edited and combined, and sent them on a new mission of instruction to the world. Some were intelligently transmitted; others were sent with little knowledge of their value.

Back to the East.

The Spanish Arabs eagerly grasped the golden talent; and they were not the men to tie it up in a napkin; they determined to make it pay usury. They were of the same race, language, and creed; they had the same traditions and aspirations; and, by reason of their independent nationality, they were stirred by a spirit of emulation. Subsidizing the new knowledge of the East, they would make Cordova, Toledo, and Seville more brilliant than the glorious seats of the Oriental Khalifs. And with the national ambition we may believe they were not entirely without a philanthropic purpose. They would garner for Europe and the world these treasures in the Spanish capitals, and all should be welcome to come and profit by them.

When in the eighth century the family of Al Abbas

had overthrown and usurped the power of the Ommeyades, they had wisely sought, as we have seen, a new locality, where, shaking off uncomfortable traditions, they might centralize their power, and render their dynasty illustrious. Such was their purpose in moving from Damascus to Baghdad. With a true Asiatic instinct they moved eastward, into the midst of their most permanent conquests. Abu Ja'far Al-mansur, the brother and successor of Abdullah As-seffah, "the blood-shedder," and thus the second Khalif of the Abbasides, fixed upon Baghdad as the new seat of the Khalifate in the year 762, and began to build on a magnificent scale, finding considerable material for his structures in the ruins of Ctesiphon and Seleucia.[1] One of the mosques which he built is still standing, in part at least, a venerable relic of his project and its success; as is also the octagonal brick tomb of Zobeide, the Sultana of Haroun Al Raschid.[2]

The removal from Damascus to Baghdad.

With this removal from Damascus came the beginnings of a new era in Mohammedan history, — the beginnings of intellectual activity and of humane culture. Scarcely anything had been accomplished in this direction before that time.

[1] Of this change Abulfeda says: "Idem annus (A. D. 762) nascentem vidit Bagdadum, al Mansuri auspiciis." The next year (763) "Transferebat al Mansur lares en urbe Ibn Hobairah Bagdadum, quo præsens ipse urbi recenti colophonem imponeret. Cui conquirens ornamenta arcessebat Wasetha portas, pariterque meditabatur totum Cosrois illud album dictum palatium, ex al Modayna in alumnam suam transferre: ea de re cum consiliariis deliberabat." — *Annales Moslemici*, I. 147, 148.

[2] The discovery of Sir H. Rawlinson, of a brick wall with inscriptions below low-water mark, makes Baghdad the *site* of a city of the time of Nebuchadnezzar. — *Encyclopedia Britannica, voce* Baghdad.

The first short step in Arabian development had indeed been taken by Mohammed, and this was one of the brightest elements of his glory. From the "Age of Ignorance," which was also the age of superstition and idolatry, he had opened to the people an age of faith and of partial knowledge. The work of the Ommeyades seems to have been to systematize and extend this partial knowledge. It was found in the Korán, which served them then, and until the present day, not only as gospel but as law.[1] They made it their chief duty to assert and impose its claims. They lived by it, and governed by it; it was their chief incentive to deeds of valor and conquest. Nothing beyond it was needed or desired. And yet, paradoxical as it appears, it was the Korán itself, so far in advance of all their former knowledge, which, in arousing the Arabian mind, was soon to lead them to desire more. It was a means, and not an end; and, while nominally sacred, it was to be virtually set aside by scientific discoveries.

Islám a great step.

The accession of the Abbasides, cruel and bloody though it was, was the beginning of a new era of intellectual development. The popular longing for knowledge, which had been repressed by the sovereigns of the Ommeyades and

Popular desire for greater knowledge.

[1] It seems astonishing that the Korán should have been retained as a practical code of civil law into the nineteenth century. A decree of the Khedive of Egypt in November, 1875, set it aside as a juridical code, and with it the host of kadis who have administered it, each according to his own private interpretation, and substituted for it a municipal system founded upon the Code Napoleon. This was the grandest of the many steps taken by that enlightened potentate during his power. Recent events (1880) will lead through trouble to a more rational and liberal government still.

by the limitations of the Korán, was in direct accord with the ambition of the new dynasty. They would be patrons of learning; they would train the quick and receptive Arabian mind, thus far only incited by the hope of conquest; and they would achieve their greatest glory by leading the movement which they saw was inevitable.

We may estimate their ardor, when we find the change so rapidly produced that little more than a century intervenes between the ruthless and ignorant destruction of the Alexandrian Library by Amru and the eager cultivation by the Arabians of all branches of human knowledge. Physical strength and animal courage had been the chief virtues of the Arabian chiefs; a blind adherence to the new faith had been at once their incentive and their reward. But, in the marvellous and rapid change, the scholar's pen soon took rank with the soldier's prowess; and the learning of the sage was esteemed of equal value with the prayers of the good and the valor of the brave.[1] We shall see that the glory of the sword was to be in time endangered by the power of the pen.

The steps in this progress, although at a first glance astonishing, are in reality simple and logical. From the outset, victorious generals were enjoined, as the first duty after conquest, to build mosques, in which Allah might be adored and his prophet revered, and to which the conquered people might be attracted. Attached to every mosque was a school, in which,

[1] They found or fabricated a tradition that Mohammed had said: "The ink of the doctor and the blood of the martyr are of equal price." — D'Herbelot, *Bibliographia Orientalis*, I. 630.

indeed, the first duty was to teach the Korán; the pupils were taught to read it, to commit it to memory, and to copy it; but when they had learned to read and write, they were in possession of a powerful instrument, which could not be content to expend its power upon the study of the Korán. It sought exercise in literature, science, and art, with an eagerness that could not be restrained,—an appetite that grew by what it fed on. In these applications it found a healthful pleasure, which the solemnity of the Korán failed to afford.

Schools attached to mosques.

Thus, naturally, came the desire to collect all the existing treasures of thought; and, after a careful study of the best models, attempts to imitate and to create. In the first they were to be eminently successful.

It has been seen that, as long as the seat of the Khalifate was at Damascus, the Moslemah had been chiefly employed in conquest. Every man was a warrior, who had little time for study. The diverging lines of victory constituted the capital a grand citadel, or centre of armies; and many were valiant soldiers who in more peaceful times would have become learned doctors and profound scientists. But at last the spirit of conquest began to slacken. The notion of unlimited extension became distasteful from the increasing obstacles in its way. Spain had asserted, and it was manifest that she could maintain, her Moslem independence. The nations of the farther East had bowed supinely before the victorious banners of Islám, and their people had been Islamized. Europe was intrenched and

Damascus peopled by warriors.

fortified on all her frontiers, to bar all further Moslem progress. It was in this condition of things that Baghdad rose in beauty and splendor, —

> "After the fashion of the time,
> And humor of the golden prime
> Of good Haroun Al Raschid." [1]

Then men of all classes turned with enthusiasm to culture, — to history, to poetry, to natural and experimental science; to all that they could hope to acquire of human learning. Then they had become aware that there was a new and beautiful world inviting them to nobler conquests even than those for the propagation of the Faith.

The "blood-shedder" had gone to his own place; and his successor, Abu Ja'far Al-mansur, the founder of Baghdad, stands in history as the usher of this auspicious era, this great *second period* in the history of Islám. Upon his accession to the Khalifate, in 754, among his first acts was to invite learned men to his court, without regard to nation or creed, and to treat them with special distinction. Indeed he found this necessary, as his people were ignorant, and the wealth of human knowledge lay in heretical hands. Chief among these were the Jews and Nestorian Christians, the latter of whom had a shadow of claim to his sympathy, in that they were under the condemnation of the Church for their heresy. By their aid he began assiduously to collect the works of the standard Greek writers, and caused several of them to be translated into the Arabic of

Al-mansur makes Baghdad a centre of learning.

[1] Tennyson, Recollections of the Arabian Nights.

the Korán. He made little of the orators, poets, and historians,[1] for he valued little what they taught, as compared with what he could himself achieve in these departments of study. If he failed to cultivate other languages, and especially the Greek, I am inclined to think it was because he set a greater value upon his own. I shall speak more at length upon this subject hereafter. But here let me say that he recognized the study of practical science as supplying the chief need of his people; and he was right.

Progress in medicine.

Thus the famous medical treatises of the Greek physicians and those of the Lower Empire were brought into the Arabian schools, in the skilful versions of George Backtischwah; and the art of healing among the Saracens, already practised with enthusiasm, was based upon the best and surest foundations, if they did not equal the Greeks in this art. He established a medical college, to which he attached hospitals, that the clinical instruction might be full and varied; and he erected laboratories for the study of chemistry, in which iatro-chemistry — the most useful of that day — was especially considered. It is recorded that at one time there were six thousand students of chemistry and medicine assembled at Baghdad.

The personal example of the Khalif was even more

[1] Gibbon's assertion that they made no translation of any Greek orator, historian, or poet, is a mistake. According to Reinesius, Homer and Pindar were translated into Arabic, in the eighth century; and, although we know of no others, we may fairly believe that they did not limit themselves to these.

influential than his liberality. He was an eager student and an apt scholar, working daily in many branches of science and art with his learned men in their investigations. His zeal for Islám, indeed, became so far secondary to his enthusiasm for science, that he was looked upon with suspicion by many of the Faithful, who feared for the waning authority of the Korán. Perhaps he may have, in such eyes, atoned for his error by dying on a pilgrimage, in September, 775.[1]

The two succeeding reigns, if they did not retard, do not seem to have accomplished much in this scientific progress. During that of Al Mahdi, which lasted for ten years, — from 775 to 785, — the chief event worthy of note was the appearance of Haroun Al Raschid, as an energetic and successful general of the Khalif, who gave an earnest of his future greatness by carrying the Moslem banners into Nicomedia, and to the Sea of Marmora, and compelling the Empress Irene of the Byzantine dominion to pay an annual tribute of seventy thousand gold dinars.

Upon the death of Al Mahdi, in 785, his son, Musa Al Hadi, reigned for a single year, and was succeeded in 786 by his cousin,[2] the already famous Haroun, who applied himself with equal ardor and energy to the noble work which had been inaugurated and impelled by his grandfather Al-mansur.

[1] "Sacro in itinere." — ABULFEDA, *Annales Moslemici*, I. 152. It must be observed that those who were suspicious of the encroachments of science upon the Korán were the intentionally ignorant.

[2] "Germanus frater." — *Ib.* 159.

This illustrious man, known to all languages by his Arabian name, Haroun Al Raschid (Hároon er-Rasheed), well deserves his name, which means Aaron the Wise. He was born in the year 765, — only half a century after the first irruption of the Arab-Moors into Spain; and his accession to the Eastern Khalifate was only one or two years before the death of Abdu-r-rahmán I., the founder of the Ommeyan dynasty in Spain. Thus the brightest days of Eastern progress were synchronous with the firm establishment of the Moslem power in the Peninsula, which prepared them to receive whatever good things might come from the East. It is Haroun who, with his favorite wife Zobeide, and his faithful servant the eunuch Mezrour, figures so largely in that marvellous chain-work of stories, nominally occupying *a thousand and one nights*, called "The Arabian Nights' Entertainments:" stories which display the supremacy of mind over brute-force and passion, — of the brilliant Sultana over a brutal Sultan; stories which make the old young again, and the learned child-like; stories which give illustrations to-day to the rostrum, the sanctum, and the household circle, and which remain the only real popular record — in spite of their fable — of the Mohammedan life in the East at that period.[1] There is real justice in making Haroun the grand personage of their plan; because, notwithstanding the romantic fiction of the

Haroun Al Raschid.

"The Arabian Nights."

[1] No one who has read them in the original language can doubt their purely Arabian character. They do not describe the people, dresses, buildings, etc., of Persia, Turkey, or India, but those of the Arabs as seen in Egypt. — LANE, *Arabian Nights*, Preface, x.

enshrinement, he was in reality one of the grandest men of his epoch, the worthy companion of Charlemagne and 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dakhel, the new Khalif of Spain. Great in his administration, he completed the glory of his capital, making Baghdad, in the words of Ibnu Said, "the capital of the world and the mine of every excellence." He was great, too, as a general and a conqueror, — bold in conception, and like lightning in his attacks. To the Byzantine Nicephorus, who refused the tribute, and wrote him an insolent letter, he answered: "I have read your letter, O son of an infidel mother! to which the answer is what you shall see, not hear."

But he warmly espoused the cause of science and general culture: there was no part of the great field too large or too little, too difficult or too modest, for his interest and support. His favorite ministers and councillors in the powerful family of the Barmecides were the ready agents of his power, and the emulous rivals of his zeal in this cause, and aided largely in rendering his reign illustrious. Mathematics and astronomy, chemistry and medicine, jurisprudence, history, and poetry, the natural sciences, — all found favor, assistance, and reward.

It was the custom of Haroun to take on his numerous journeys and expeditions, whether on a pilgrimage, a campaign, or a royal progress through the different parts of his empire, a hundred men, of various learning, in his train, who profited by all that they saw, collected all they could, and received at his hands the treatment of distinguished courtiers.

Everywhere he caused mosques to be built; but everywhere, also, it was his chief concern to establish academies and colleges. Thus to all seeming, religion and science went hand-in-hand, but in reality science was outstripping religion. It was the noiseless conflict of the true and the developing with the false and unprogressive, which was still, however, enveloped in the mysterious atmosphere of superstitious reverence.

His fame was not confined, even at that period, to the East. His correspondence with the West increased it greatly; and, more than any other sovereign, he divided the admiration of Europe with his great western contemporary Charlemagne. The "Annals of the Franks" call him "king of Persia."

Correspondence with Charlemagne.

To his imperial brother in the West he sent a splendid embassy, with presents which astonished the western world by their value, their rarity, and the ingenuity displayed in their construction. We may allow something for the tendency to exaggeration of the early records, and yet the principal details remain as historic facts. Among the gifts was an elephant,[1] said to have been the first ever seen in France; and a linen tent, of such fineness of texture that it could be folded into a very small compass, and yet when pitched it rose so high in air that

[1] The name of the elephant has been preserved: it was Abú-l-abbas. It was landed near Spezzia, in October, 801; but as it could not cross the Alps for the snow, it wintered at Vercelli, and was presented to the Emperor at Aix the following year. — EGINHARD, *Annales des Francs*, Charles, ann. 801.

an arrow shot by the strongest arm could not pass over its summit: it was adorned with a variety of colors, and "the interior was of such magnitude that few palaces could present a greater number of apartments."[1] There were, with this, numerous silk vestures, perfumes, balms, and aromatic herbs peculiar to the East.

The curious clock.

The third gift was more curious and valuable still, and indicated the great progress already made at the East in delicate and complicated mechanism. It was a *clepsydra,* or water-clock of metal, of singular construction. It had twelve gates, corresponding to the twelve hours. "When the hour was striking on the clock, one of the gates opened itself, from which proceeded a regular number of small brass balls; and these, by falling in turn on a brazen vessel, marked the hour by the noise which they thus caused: the eye perceived the hour by the number of opened gates, and the ear by the number of falling balls. At the twelfth hour, twelve small horsemen issued out, each through its gate, and closed them all by their momentum in their course round the dial."[2] The terms of admiration in which contemporary writers speak of this clock would lead us to infer that the construction of the Roman clepsydra, borrowed from the Chaldæans and Greeks, was a lost art to the western people, or that the peculiar mechanism of this one, displaying the time to eye and ear in so pleasant a manner, rendered the machine an

[1] Card's Charlemagne, 60.

[2] Ib. 61; Eginhard, Annales des Francs, Charles, ann. 807.

individual curiosity;[1] as, in the older models, the flow of water alone had marked the time.[2]

But if the record of the event I am about to relate could be fully substantiated, the character of Haroun is presented to us in a still more pleasing light by a gift more thoughtful, more delicate, and far more magnanimous; a gift denoting a great mind and worthy of a powerful prince, unshackled by religious bigotry.

Within his extensive dominions lay Palestine, the scene of momentous struggles and a marvellous history, a Holy Land, — to Jew, to Saracen, and to Christian. Its central point, sacred to all, was Jerusalem, the *urbs sancta* of the Jewish past; the earthly type of the *urbs cœlestis* of Christian vision; to the Mohammedans alike the throne of Suleyman Ibn Dauid, and the tomb of Jesus, son of Mary, the greatest of the prophets except Mohammed.

The holy places in Palestine.

[1] Al Makkari quotes Ibnu Sa'id in mention of two water-clocks constructed by the astronomer Az-Zarkál in Toledo, as late as the fifth century of the Hijra. They consisted of two basins, which filled with water or emptied, according to the waxing and waning of the moon. "These clocks," he adds, "were undoubtedly a greater work of science than the Indian talisman (at Arin); for this latter is placed in a country under the equinoctial line, where the days and nights are of the same length, while in Andalus, which is in the temperate zone, it does not happen thus." This ruder construction, at a so much later period in Spain, illustrates the value of Haroun's gift.

[2] The name *clepsydra* means *water-stealer* (κλέπτειν and ὕδωρ). The Romans used it to limit time in courts — as *aquam dare* and *aquam perdere.* That of Ctesilaus of Alexandria, B. C. 135, had a little figure which rose with the water and pointed out the hours.

To the Christians, it had a peculiar importance, because it contained the rock sepulchre, in which for three days the human body of Christ had lain, and the ten other "holy places."

It was well known to Haroun Al Raschid that the Patriarch of Jerusalem, knowing the intimate relations subsisting between Charlemagne and himself, had implored the Frankish monarch to interpose for the protection of the churches of the East, and for the security of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre. To this end the patriarch had sent to Charlemagne a monk named Zachary, with a piece of the true cross, the holiest of all the relics in the eyes of Christians of that day. It can never be known to what extent Haroun granted the favors thus requested; but, if contemporary historians may be believed, it is to the great honor of the Eastern Khalif, that hearing of the mission he anticipated the request, and sent unsolicited the keys of the holy sepulchre and of Calvary, and the standard of the city of Jerusalem. Whether the grant was in this form, and gave uncontrolled authority in the Holy City or not, it seems certain that, in all matters concerning the security of the Christian Church, the safety of pilgrims, and free access to the venerated monuments of Jerusalem, there was a decided improvement.[1]

Thrown open to Christians.

In the rapid changes of dynasty, of kingdoms, and of foreign polity, this sunny spot in the history was soon clouded over; and it may be said that after this intercourse between Charlemagne and Haroun,

[1] Card's Charlemagne, 63.

friendly communication between the Christian west and the Moslem east came to an end, and was not resumed until a much later period.

The splendid reign of Haroun was stained with acts of cruelty: it could hardly have been otherwise. The Mohammedan Khalif had become an Oriental despot; and with autocratic power always comes the strong temptation to abuse it. He destroyed the Barmecides to whom he had owed so much, and who had cordially joined him in fostering literature and science. History fails to give us clearly the causes of this cruel procedure.[1] Among those that have been suggested are the following: Ja'far, the chief representative of that ill-fated family, had married the sister of the Khalif, and she had borne him a son. When this new scion of the royal house appeared, Haroun took his sister away, that mother and son might be always under his eye and control. This angered Ja'far, and caused him to become disaffected. Others say that the Khalif had confided to his care Yahya, the remaining descendant of Ali, the fourth Khalif, and he had permitted him to escape. Others still ascribe the cruelty of Haroun to a general jealousy of so powerful a family. This is, after all, the most cogent reason.

Haroun's treatment of the Barmecides.

[1] In speaking of the Barmecides, Abdulfeda says: " . . . quæ in aula Bagdadica maximis gestis dignitatibus summa potentia et fama clara, de repente deleta fuit. Cujus rei caussæ multæ sunt preditæ, omnes pariter obscuræ atque dubiæ." — I. 165. The fact that the Barmecide family were accustomed to keep open house during meals, every one having access to their table, presents a better meaning of the "Barmecide feast," than the purely visionary one given to the beggar.

The Barmecides had become too great. Be the cause what it may, Ja'far was killed, by order of Haroun, at Amhara in the year 802, and this was the signal for a general proscription of the Barmecides.[1]

The fate of this family has apparently little to do with the current of this history, but I wish to present the reader with a portrait of the Great Khalif, whose reign had so powerful and lasting an influence on Arabian civilization in Spain; and this outline would be incomplete without the mention of his faults, which no doubt were great.[2] Despite his ill-doings, his reign must be always held in high estimation, for the great progress made under his auspices, for the unexampled splendors of the court of Baghdad, for his liberality to the learned of all creeds, and especially for his benefactions to the Christian Church, whatever their motive may have been.

The death of Haroun, in the year 809, threatened for a time to produce great trouble in the Eastern Khalifate: the never-settled question of a successor was the immediate cause.

Al-mámún, the eldest son, and the worthiest, was the offspring of an obscure concubine; while Al-amin, the younger and the weaker, was the son of the favorite sultana Zobeide, the heroine of the Arabian Nights, made famous for all time by that enchanting work. Haroun was too just to change the succession.

[1] Abulfeda, Ann. Mosl. I. 165.

[2] Emil Gossweller, the Arabic scholar of Basle, in a recent lecture, makes him out a very bad character. He was an Oriental despot, and no doubt somewhat of an Asiatic barbarian in temper; but he at least did the good things that have been recorded.

The result may be anticipated. He bequeathed the Khalifate to Al-amin, and left to the elder brother, as an appanage, the province of Khorassan. There were jealousy and hatred between the half-brothers for four years, when, after an attempt on the part of Al-amin to wrest Khorassan from Al-mámún, a civil war broke out, which ended in the deposition of the Khalif, and the accession of Al-mámún, in the year 813. The successful competitor, who had been set aside by the assertion of lawful primogeniture, soon vindicated his superior claims to the throne.

Al-mámún succeeds.

I have brought the Eastern history thus far, because it was necessary to add another and a last name to the list of those Eastern Khalifs who, in this dark age of European civilization, and in the formative period of oriental culture, still further advanced the progress of science, and transmitted treasures of learning and of art to the West. It is the name of this Al-mámún, the son of Haroun, and the seventh Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Thoroughly educated in his youth by the learned professors and scholars at his father's court, it was his chief pleasure, when he became monarch, to surround his throne with the concurrent wisdom of the world, irrespective of race and creed. The royalty which he had conquered, he would render illustrious. Among his most distinguished *savans* were Jews. A Nestorian Christian was his superintendent of public instruction, bequeathed to him by his father.

He issued an edict to his government officials in all parts of his extensive dominions to collect every-

thing pertaining to literature, science, and art; and thus, during his entire reign of twenty years, caravans of solid learning — books, pictures, maps, specimens in the field of natural history — were seen converging to the great repository at Baghdad, where hundreds of skilful hands were busy in analyzing, classifying, and arranging them.

Measures a degree of latitude and the angle of the ecliptic.

From a single but important instance, it would seem that he was particularly interested in mathematical and astronomical studies. He placed two parties in the field to measure a degree of latitude on the shore of the Red Sea, and thus, assuming the spheroidal form of the earth, to determine its circumference approximately. Incident to this, his astronomers also calculated the angle of the ecliptic, making it with tolerable accuracy 23° 35′ 52″. Under his auspices, Al-fagarni wrote a work called the Elements of Astronomy, and Al-merwasi produced an invaluable set of astronomical tables.

We shall hold the labors of Al-mámún in greater esteem from the fact that his liberality to learning, and his zeal in the cause of science, caused him to be suspected by his people of infidelity to the Korán. The truth is that in this Augustan age the astounding developments of science did indeed begin to expose the bald absurdities of the revelation of Mohammed; and progress in science rendered a man liable to the charge of heresy for the best of reasons, — it made him a heretic. And here it is sad to observe that the safety of the Korân, so greatly imperilled at this epoch, was principally due to the gradual but steady

decline of learning in the East, which with the decline of the Khalifate began in the next reign, that of Al-motassem, a third son of Haroun. Twenty years later, a degenerate successor, Al-motawakkel was persecuting the Christians and Jews in the interests of Islám. Here we must leave the Eastern Khalifs and their achievements and return to Spain, which was already receiving in full tide the grateful and irrigating current, and which under the earlier Ommeyades was worthy to receive and able to utilize it.

CHAPTER II.

SOCIAL LIFE: HOUSES, CUSTOMS, AND COSTUMES.

AS in the phenomenon of the tide wave, the high water does not occur until hours after the moon has passed the meridian, so we shall see, in the Western flow of scientific progress, it was high tide at Baghdad when the great motor had for some time passed by, and had already been at its powerful work in Spain. And when letters were already declining in the East, the succeeding century was the most brilliant period among the Spanish Arabs, who could indeed give some return to the East for its splendid gifts.

They could not have been in a more fortunate condition to receive the gracious boon; for the firm establishment of the independent Khalifate under Abdu-r-rahmán I. had created such a unity of sentiment and such a community of interest in the Peninsula, that systematic culture was for the first time a practicable thing; and, besides, a potent spirit of emulation had arisen, which impelled them to rival and to exceed their Eastern brethren. Thus it was that the enthusiasm for polite and useful learning exhibited at Baghdad spread rapidly along the western line of original

The spirit of emulation.

conquest. Incident to the great rupture between the East and West, independent governments had also sprung up in Africa, especially that of the Aglabites at Kairwan and Tunis, around the ruins of Carthage, and that of the Edrisites at Fez. In these, too, the impulsion was felt: schools and libraries were soon established at Fez, and were to quicken the establishment and growth of Morocco;[1] and, if these regions did not profit to the full extent from the Eastern tide, they formed, as it were, the necessary conduit through which the pellucid waters might flow to the Peninsula.

To leave the figure, a new band of *moral* conquerors now followed in the track so thoroughly established and so constantly beaten by the achievers of the *physical* conquest; intent to show that, if the direct conquest of all Europe by force of arms had been impossible, these Arabian adventurers were to achieve a moral triumph far nobler, — to make an intellectual incursion, which was to be acknowledged with gratitude in the schools of Oxford, and to be permanently felt "as far as the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland."[2]

A moral conquest.

[1] Morocco was founded by Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, the leader of the Almoravides, in 1092.

[2] Most Christian writers have been inclined to deny, ignore, or very grudgingly admit our obligations to the Arabians. In a very interesting chapter of his "Intellectual Development of Europe," Dr. Draper not only acknowledges, but demonstrates, the truth, and adds: "I have to deplore the systematic manner in which the literature of Europe has contrived to put out of sight our scientific obligations to the Mohammedans. Surely they cannot be much longer hidden. Injustice, founded on religious rancor and national conceit, cannot be perpetuated forever." — p. 356.

They were now to throw a flood of light upon the darkness of western Europe; and while, directly, they were imparting secular knowledge, they were, as has been already shown, indirectly to rouse Christendom, and bind all its components together in a grand rally for the Christian faith, — positively to instruct, and thus negatively to strengthen. Such are the chief factors in the civilization which the Arab-Moors were now ready to impart to western Europe, and which western Europe had made but poor preparation to receive. The first step in this movement had already been taken when Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dakhel had chosen Cordova as his capital, and had determined to make it in all respects the rival of Baghdad.

In situation and topography, it was equal, if not superior, to the Eastern capital. Upon the gentle Guadalquivir, in the midst of an extensive plain surrounded by mountains filled with water-springs, which irrigate and fertilize the neighboring fields and farms, and containing the best building materials, it had been a settlement of the most ancient inhabitants. It had been occupied by Rome, first as a garrison, and then as a strong city. Cæsar found it worth sacking after his quarrel with Pompey, and it had been one of the royal residences of the Gothic monarchs. During the dependent Amirate of the Arab-Moors, little had been done to improve it; but, when it was chosen by the first Spanish Khalif as his seat of empire, its glory fairly began. It became in that early period the largest

The glories of Cordova.

and most splendid city in the world.[1] For three centuries, from the ninth to the twelfth, it gloried in this distinction. It witnessed the truly magnificent reigns of the three Abdu-r-rahmáns and of Alhakem II.

Its numerous long and winding streets, wider than those of the Eastern cities, were brilliantly lighted at night, and swarming with people, who were protected by the friendly glare, at a time when the profound darkness of London rendered the night-walker insecure in his steps and uncertain of his safety; and it was completely paved and scrupulously clean, when Paris richly deserved its name, — *Lutetia*, or *the muddy*.

In the words of an Arabian author, "Cordova, under the sultáns of the family of Umeyyah, became the tent of Islám; the place of refuge for the learned; the foundation of the throne of the Bení Meruán; the place of resort of the noblest families among the tribes of Ma'd and Yemen. To it came, from all parts of the world, students anxious to cultivate poetry, to study the sciences, or to be instructed in divinity or the law; so that it became the meeting-place of the eminent in all matters, the abode of the learned, and the place of resort for the studious; its interior was always filled with the eminent and the noble of all countries; its literary men and soldiers were continually vying with each other to gain distinction, and

[1] Sunken, as it now is, into a little, dead, white city, with a population in 1860 of less than forty-two thousand, it contains but few relics of the day when it was the splendor of the world. Among these is the Mezquita, or Mosque, now a Christian cathedral.

its precincts never ceased to be the arena of the distinguished, the hippodrome of the foremost, the halting-place of the noble, and the repository of the true and virtuous. Cordova was to Andalus what the head is to the body, or what the breast is to the lion."

Its estimation by the Spanish Arabs.

And a poet of a later time, not content to limit its claims to the Peninsula, regales us with the following couplet: —

> "Do not talk of the Court of Baghdad and its glittering magnificence; do not praise Persia and China and their manifold advantages;
> For there is no spot on earth like Cordova, nor in the whole world men like the Bení Hamdín." [1]

Cordova had its Kassábah, or palace citadel, rendered very strong by a wall and moat. The exterior walls of the city extended in periphery twenty-four miles;[2] and beyond these there were twenty-one suburbs, each provided with its mosques, market-places, and public baths, and surrounded by a moat.[3] A splendid aqueduct from a neighboring mountain supplied pure water to all this vast extent of habitations. It was built by Abdu-r-rahmán III.

The city had seven gates, named from other cities

[1] This was written of a later period, during the war between the Almoravides and the Almohades, when the chief of the Bení Hamdín ruled in Cordova as Al-mansúr Billah; but it is even more true of the earlier time.

[2] Al Makkari, I. 207.

[3] Al Makkari gives the picturesque names of the mosques, markets, and baths, such as "The Garden of Wonders," "The Shops of the Sellers of Sweet Basil," "The Mosque of Rejoicings," etc. I. 206.

towards which they opened, — as the gate of Toledo, of Saragossa, etc.; or from their locality, — the gate of the bridge, and the gate of the river.

Of the palaces, I have already mentioned the *Rissáfah*,[1] which took its name from its magnificent garden, built by Abdu-r-rahmán I. On the site of this garden is at the present time a convent which partially retains the name, — *San Francisco de la Arrizafa.*

The palaces; Rissáfah.

But around the city were other royal residences or villa retreats, famous either for the elegance of their construction or for the picturesqueness of their situation. They bore such romantic names as "the palace of the garden," "of lovers," "of contentment," "of the diadem," "of flowers," "of the fortunate," "of novelties." Distinct mention, however, must be made of two which seemed to excel all others in extent and magnificence, — that of *Az-zahrá*, and that of *Az-zá-hirah.*

The former grew out of the reversion of a fund which had been set apart for the redemption of Moslems captive in France. When it was found that there were none, the monarch, Abdu-r-rahmán III. (An-násir) listened to the solicitation of a favorite mistress, who said: "Build with that money a city that may take my name and be mine." The enamoured monarch complied with her request. No expense was spared in its erection; the original fund was but a drop in the ocean. Of the vast revenue obtained from all sources, one-third was appropriated annually to the continued erection of this

The splendors of Az-zahrá.

[1] Rissáfah means a spot paved with flags, or made level.

palace and city.[1] Its beauties are described with great enthusiasm; among them were its splendid fountains, one with human figures of gilt-bronze, brought from Constantinople, — the other of green marble, from Syria, surmounted by statues of gold set with precious stones;[2] the hall of the Khalifs, with its walls of marble, and its roof of *transparent* marble and gold. The mosque was worthy the rest of the buildings. If these are exaggerations, they cannot be disproved, for every trace of the structure has disappeared.

We have not space, nor is it proper in this history, to go into the details of these astonishing constructions, and we may, for that reason, avoid those which are probably couched in the language of hyperbole, for when the Arabian chroniclers enter upon such a subject they seem to vie with each other to produce the most marvellous recital. We may believe that in the day of its builder and his immediate successors, the palace of Az-zahrá was the chief royal residence, judging from the multitude of persons who were on duty there. The number of male servants was nearly four thousand; the women, including those of the harem and their attendants, numbered six thousand three hundred and fourteen; the Sclavonian pages and eunuchs were over three thousand. The garden terraces were of polished marble. There were a golden hall and a circular pavilion in front of

[1] The details of expenditure, labor, and materials, are given in Al Makkari, and are principally of value because of the truthful air they impart to the story, which is otherwise redundant, and seems exaggerated. — I. 233, 234.

[2] Ib. 236.

which were splendid fountains, to which the greater liberality of a later period permitted the ornaments of human and animal figures.[1] The numerous cylindrical columns, amounting in all to four thousand, says the chronicler, were so smooth and symmetrical, that they appeared to have been fashioned in a turning-machine. Many of them came from Rome, Constantinople, Gaul, Italy, and Africa. This splendid palace was situated about four miles from Cordova, and was the favorite retreat of the Khalif from the cares and distractions of the capital.

The Arabian writers dwell with great fondness of expression, and doubtless with the hyperbole of affection, upon another magnificent structure, erected by the imbecile Hisham II., at the instance of his hajib, Al-mansur, who seems to have been possessed of a passion for building. He called it *Az-záhirah*, and exhausted as much wealth and ingenuity upon it, as he had upon that of Az-zahrá. It was begun in 978, two years after the accession of Hisham, and was for some time the residence of the great minister, Al-mansur, who surpassed royalty in power and authority. The details of the construction and the beauties of both these structures are so minutely given, by writers not far removed from the period of their splendor, that we cannot doubt the reality of their existence, but the traveller of to-day seeks in vain for the slightest vestige of them. Howèver

Az-záhirah.

[1] Al Makkari, I. 239. He gives a glowing description of the two fountains, with their twelve figures of red gold, surrounded by curious animals ornamented with jewels, and the splendid hall of the Khalifs, with its large basin of quicksilver.

superficial the search for their site and remaining fragments, it can hardly be hoped that a greater scrutiny would have had better success. Al-mansur is said to have predicted the ruin of Az-záhirah with tears.[1] Nor was the portent without reason, for the decline of the Khalifate was already rapid, and before the short reign of one year of Suleyman, the dynasty of Idris, already marshalling the Berbers to form the independent sovereignties of Malaga and Algeçiras, had captured and repeatedly plundered the city of Cordova, and begun the destruction of its suburban palaces.[2]

One circumstantial story of Al-mansur's life at Az-záhirah I abridge from the chronicle, because it gives a slight glimpse of the manners and sentiments of the Arabian magnates, — a love of splendor, a vanity which pleased itself with dramatic effects, and a shrewdness in giving a lesson in diplomacy to foreign ambassadors.[3]

In a lake within the palace grounds, Al-mansur had caused water-lilies to be planted. When an embassy from the "Christian kings of Andalus," who, rising from their weakness, had now gained great power and much territory, came to his palace, it was manifest to him that they had been sent to spy out the strength and system of the Moslems. To convince them at least that he had plenty of money,

Al-mansur's display.

[1] See the note of Gayangos, Al Makkari, I. 244.

[2] Ib. 506, note 3.

[3] This story is given on the authority of an anonymous work, or, rather, a work the author of which is not now known, called "The Flowers and the Lights." Al Makkari says he saw it in the library of Fez.

he had a gold or silver coin placed in the cup of each lily, and then gave the ambassadors a reception at day-dawn in the splendid hall, the balcony of which hung over the lake. Richly attired slaves — one thousand Sclavonians — appeared, five hundred bearing golden, and five hundred silver trays, and as the first rays of the sun beamed upon the lake, at a given signal, they marched out and plucked the water-lilies, in view of the astonished Christians. The flowers bearing gold pieces were placed in the silver trays, and those bearing silver in the golden trays; and the coins were then deposited at the feet of Al-mansur, "raising a mountain of silver and gold before his throne." There was thus no question as to his resources; and the embassy, asking for a truce, went back to say to their sovereigns, — "Do not make war upon these people; for, by Allah, we have seen the earth yielding them its hidden treasures."

Were there unanimity of statement as to the buildings of Cordova, we should still with reason accuse the chroniclers of exaggeration; but Al Makkari acknowledges "great historical discrepancy" in the number of mosques in Cordova. It ranges, according to different authorities, from three hundred to more than eight hundred. I shall reserve a consideration of the principal one to a later chapter. There were also numerous Christian churches, tolerated by the Moslems, — one of which was a great resort for pilgrims from abroad. It was called *Santa Maria;* and a Moorish poet, describing one of the festivals, when the church was "strewed with green branches of myrtle, and planted with cypress-trees,"

tells us: "It was to a girl (the Virgin Mary) that their prayers were addressed; it was for her that they put on their gay tunics, instead of humiliating themselves before the Almighty."

We are told, what it is hard to believe, that there were in Cordova, six hundred inns,[1] five thousand mills, and highly cultivated plantations, gardens and orchards, lying for a long distance on the river banks. The reader will hardly be more inclined to accept the account of "a trustworthy writer," that there were two hundred thousand seventy-seven common houses, sixty thousand three hundred public buildings, — palaces, hospitals, colleges, barracks, etc.; eighty thousand four hundred and fifty-five shops, and four thousand three hundred markets.[2]

Numerous buildings.

But, however large the abatement we may be inclined to make, we must still admire that magnificent concourse of buildings and people collected in the city of Cordova, and the suburban palaces of Az-zahrá and Az-záhirah, which "together covered, at one time, a piece of ground measuring ten miles in length, which distance might be traversed at night by the light of lamps, placed close to each other."

[1] It may be supposed that every *casa de huespedes*, or private lodging-house, was counted an inn, and yet the number is incredible. Of real taverns or hotels there are *now* but two in Cordova of any note, and lodging-houses are not in demand.

[2] Gayangos (Al Makkari, I. 492, note 59) is disposed to accept the count of houses, because the houses were small, and every hut and every booth was counted. He regards sixty thousand as the entire number of houses built of masonry. The *dowars*, or encampments of tribes, drawn from Africa by Al-mansur, were all counted. But I have purposely avoided any critical inquiry, as the result seemed hopeless.

What this favored place was to its native children when absent from it, its present claims will not inform the tourist. I have already indicated the praises of its poets; but a single anecdote is more significant, for it has the air of simple truth: A certain Abu-Bekr journeyed from Cordova to Toledo, where he encountered his friend, Almak-h-zu-mi. "Whence comest thou?" asked the latter. "From Cordova." "When?" "Just now." "Then," said the Sheik, "come nearer to me, that I may smell the air of Cordova on thy garments." With that, he began to smell the traveller's head, and to kiss it all over, and hen he broke out in tearful, impromptu verses in praise of his native city:—

The sweet-scented air of Cordova.

"O my beloved Cordova, when shall I see thee again?
Thou art like an enchanted spot;
Thy fields are luxuriant gardens;
Thy earth of various colors resembles a block of rose-colored amber."

The Arabian muse is not always content with such simple and beautiful pathos, because not so often inspired by natural sentiment.

I have spoken of the numerous palaces: it remains for me to describe a typical mansion such as those inhabited by the rich and noble of the most prosperous period of the Arab-Moors in Spain. They were of great luxury in interior construction and furniture. For exterior appearance they cared little. Except from *azotea* or *mirador* — house-top or extended piazza — they shut nature out; but they made amends by constituting each mansion a temple of taste and pleasure, where luxurious rest should follow even

moderate toil, and where, in courts and gardens, nature should be embellished by the hand of art. Fortunately for our ideal picture, a few of the palaces of the later period of Moslem dominion still remain as representatives of the thousands of that halcyon day, and greatly aid the traveller to form some conception of the time when the chronicler claimed sixty thousand similar edifices. Instead of attempting to describe any one of them, or to draw upon the special eulogiums of the chroniclers, I shall endeavor to present to the reader the common features which marked them, and which may be still seen in many modern houses, especially in Seville. Climate and traditional custom have retained these to a greater or less degree.[1]

A typical mansion.

Let the reader fancy a massive *porte-cochère*, opening into a well-paved court-yard, in the centre of which rises the never-failing fountain-jet, diffusing coolness, and making a pleasant patter of the falling drops into the basin. The peristyle of the gallery running around this court is supported by slender columns, sometimes grouped, of alabaster or polished marble, from which spring numbers of graceful horse-shoe arches; above these are the latticed or grated windows which light the seraglio, or apartments of the women. These columns

[1] I might add that there is also a modern æsthetic element to be taken into consideration. I saw, a few years ago, in Seville, a splendid mansion built and finished in the Moorish style, as exhibited in the halls of the Al-cazar and the courts of the Alhambra. The projector and owner was a wealthy Spaniard, long resident in Cuba. It is a striking anachronism, and transports the traveller to the twelfth century. It stands in the Plaza del Duque.

are partly or wholly gilded, and the interspaces above the arches filled with arabesques, interwreathing striking texts from the Korán, are radiant with rainbow effect of red and blue and gold. The flat or terraced roof — *sotah* — now called in Spanish *azotea*, is used as a cool lounging-place and look-out in the evening. Over the entire court is drawn, to shut out the mid-day heat, a costly awning, the modern *velo*, and here the members of the household gather for that charming *siesta*, — still retained as one of the *cosas de España*, — lulled rather than disturbed by the patter and plash of the fountain waters. Luxuriant tropical plants, in huge *jardinières* of wood and earthenware, containing tropical fruits as well as flowers, lend a grace of sylvan nature to the scene.

There were many such fairy dwellings in the rich towns and beautiful *vegas* of Andalusia. But the picture is not yet completed. Let us pass from the centre of this luxurious court, through a double archway, into another *patio* similar in proportions and surroundings, and usually lying at right angles to the first, in the centre of which is a great *estanque*, or oblong basin, seventy-five feet long by thirty in width, and six feet in depth in its deepest part, supplied with limpid waters, raised to a pleasant temperature by heated metallic pipes. Here the indolent, the warm, the weary, may bathe in luxurious languor. Here the women meet to disport themselves, while the entrances are guarded by eunuchs against intrusion.

Baths.

The contented bather may then leave the court by a postern in the gallery, which opens into a beauti-

ful garden, with mazy walks and blooming parterres, redolent with roses, violets, and the *faghiijeh,* or Egyptian privet,[1] and fountains and artificial grottos, and kiosks of stained glass. The garden terraces are of polished marble and the balustrades are supported by gilded columns. There are ponds filled with gold and silver fishes. Water is everywhere; one garden-house is ingeniously walled in with fountain columns, meant to bid defiance to the fiercest heats and droughts of summer.

And gardens.

With the Arab-Moor water was less a luxury than a necessary of life; ablution was not more a religious ceremony than a domestic enactment. Nor was this confined to the higher classes; we are informed that among the poor many spent their last *dirhem* for soap, preferring rather to be dinnerless than dirty.[2]

As everywhere, eating and drinking formed an important element in their social economy, but the special customs of the Spanish Arabs in this matter are not easy to find. It may be supposed that they continued to follow the Eastern customs which they brought with them. After the morning prayer, they had a light breakfast, chiefly of eggs and fruit; after the noonday devotion, a light dinner or luncheon. The chief meal was just after their vespers,

Eating and drinking.

[1] The rose is the chief favorite of the orientals, and came with them to Spain. Of it one of the Khalifs said: "I am the king of sultáns, and the rose is the king of sweet-scented flowers; therefore, each of us is most worthy of the other for a companion."

[2] For a description of the public baths, with their tessellated pavements of black and white marble, their domed apartments, their hot and cold water, etc., see Lane's "Arabian Nights" (Poole), note to ch. ii.

at sunset. The man of the house ate alone, and the women and children after he had finished his meal. An embroidered cloth or rug was spread upon the floor; and upon it was placed a low tray, set with silver and fine earthenware, and provided with bread and limes. The diner sat on his low cushion with legs crossed. A servant poured water on his hands before eating from a basin and ewer, which formed a necessary part of the table-furniture. The meal then began with Bismillah, for grace; — "In the name of the most merciful God:"[1] the right hand only was used in eating, and with it the host, if he had guests, transferred choice pieces from his own plate to theirs; and sometimes, as a mark of greater favor, to their very mouths. Ordinarily there were soups, boiled meats, stuffed lambs, and all meats not forbidden. Very little water was taken during the meal: in its place, and especially after the meal, sherbets were drunk, those flavored with violet and made very sweet being preferred.

It is easy to give these details of domestic architecture and modes of life; for, as I have said, such residences remain, and modern houses are built upon the ancient models: but it is not so easy to conjure up in exact costume the figures of those who occupied these houses, lounged in the courts, and sauntered in the gardens. In the early times of Islám, the art of the tailor was almost unknown: the costumes changed somewhat in the lapse

Costumes of the men.

[1] When they killed an animal for food, Bismillah was said first by way of consecration. and as a spell against idolatry.

of centuries, and by contact with the people who were conquered in Asia, Africa, and Europe;[1] but, as it was forbidden to the devout Mohammedan to depict the human figure, pictorial art has left us little of real value in this regard. In their Western movements, the Arabs adopted forms of clothing from the Moors and Berbers, and later in Spain from the Christians. The general effect was that of many folds of cloth gathered loosely about the person. On one of the ceilings in the Alhambra is a rude picture, probably drawn by a Christian prisoner, of an Arabian council or divan. There are three principal figures: the central one is covered by a turban, formed by making the long cloth into a roll, and then twisting it, and putting it in layers around the head, upon an under cloth, with bands falling at the sides, which might be fastened under the chin. Over a long, straight robe of light cloth, is a shorter tunic, and upon that a cape is worn; there are fringes upon the tunic in several rows, and one row at the bottom of the cape. A baldric and short sword complete the official dress; boots without heels cover the feet; and the figures sit upon fringed cushions placed upon a low elevation running around the room.

For the common people, the ordinary dress was a gown or long sack, gathered with a belt at the waist; beneath were loose drawers gathered at the ankle; and the over-dress was a large-sleeved mantle open in front. For the street or the field, sandals were usually worn; but these were replaced in the house by

[1] See Dozy's "Dictionnaire des Noms des Vêtements chez les Arabes," Introduction.

heelless slippers, such as are still found in the bazaars of Tangiers and Morocco. Upon the cloth covering, falling upon the back and sides of the head at the time of the conquest, the turban was adjusted, — white for the common people, green for the nobles, — and continued to be used, as we have seen, for an official costume; but, for the people at large, no long time elapsed before the turban fell into disuse in Spain, and a woollen cap of cylindrical form was adopted in its place: this was called the *tarboosh* or *fez*, from the place of its origin; the favorite colors were red or green for the Moslemah, with blue tassel; white was prescribed for the Muzarabs, and the Jews were only permitted to wear yellow. So essentially had the turban disappeared from Spain in the lapse of a century, that, we are informed by Ibnu Sa'id, "when an Eastern Arab happens to come among them, wearing a turban in the Syrian or Hejazi fashion, . . . they will burst out laughing and jest at the expense of the wearer."[1]

The Spanish *capa*, *talaysin*, and *anda*.

The famous Spanish *capa*, or cloak of the present day, owes its origin to no single people. Something like it was worn in the East: the Spanish Goths had it before the Conquest. The Roman toga, semicircular in form, and flung over the left shoulder, was one of its types; the Arab-Moors called it *anda*, and used it, not only for comfort, but they made it, like the modern Spaniards, a concealment of disordered under dress, and of arms.[2]

[1] Al Makkari, I. 116.

[2] As worn in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was called *talaysin*, a short cloak, which was expanded into the *capa* of the

According to Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldun, persons of royal families were accustomed to interweave their names and surnames in the skirts of their robes; while the rich and noble ornamented theirs with prayers and passages from the Korán, and were thus enveloped in sanctity. Unlike the Franks, who were proud of their long hair, the people of Andalus wore their hair short, with the exception of the Kádis and Ulemahs, whose official dignity was proclaimed by their long locks gathered over the left ear.

The costume of the women was simple, and similar to that of the men. They wore their hair braided, and a light cap or coronet adorned with gems formed the covering for the head. The hair was worn long on the sides and with a *bang* in front. The side-locks were entwined with coral beads and pearls, hung loosely to chink with every movement. There was a curse against those "who joined another's hair to their own." To send a person hair or the silken strings that bound it, was a token of submission. They wore two long robes, — an inner and an outer one, — the former only confined at the waist; the inner robe close-fitting, with sleeves, and the outer a *saya*, or mantle; they had, beside, full drawers and heelless slippers. These robes were frequently striped, and embroidered with gold and silver. The long oblong shawl, or outer veil, called *izár*, — a covering

The clothing of women.

present time, the most distinctive feature of modern Spanish costume, so dear to the native that "he would rather part with his skin than his cloak." Its form and dimensions are rigorously prescribed; a full circle measuring *seven* yards all but three inches and a half. It is of sober color, and is lined on the front edges with black or green velvet. The hood of the *talaysin* has been generally dropped.

for concealment, now known and generally used in Spain as the mantilla, — was probably adopted from the Goths and Hispano-Romans; it was fastened at the back of the head, and easily drawn over the face and bosom, like the Eastern veil. It is the perfection of the graceful in woman's costume; under this they wore the *kináa,* or face veil, which only left the eyes visible.[1] Their ornaments were chiefly necklaces and bracelets. The handkerchief was of fine stuff, — a long oblong, embroidered at the ends with silk and gold.

Of the costumes and weapons of the army, it must be observed that they differed much at different periods of the Moslem dominion in Spain. In the earlier times, and during their wars with the Franks, they adopted the dress and accoutrements of their enemies, — complete mail, steel helmets, and huge spears:[2] but later, much of this cumbrous armor was thrown off; and in their civil strifes, and their wars with the Africans, they wore slender breastplates, light head-pieces, slim lances, and leather bucklers. They had the long-bow and the mace; the long and slender spear they managed with great dexterity, using it as a lance in rest, or casting it as a javelin.

Arms and armor.

Once again, when the Gothic Christians, gathering strength and courage, began that movement which was to end in the entire reconquest, the Moslemah

[1] Lane's Arabian Nights (Poole's edition), I. 191. But this concealment was soon abandoned among the Spanish Arabs, whose treatment of women greatly abated the rigors of the East, still observed in Egypt.

[2] Ibnu-l-Khatíb, History of Granada; quoted by Gayangos, I. 407.

imitated them for a while by the adoption of heavier armor, but threw it off at last as impeding their celerity of movement. On the ceiling of the recess at the extremity of the Patio de los Leones in the Alhambra, is a picture[1] of a Moorish battle-piece, painted by captive Christians, probably of the twelfth century, in which a knight is represented in half-costume. In his hand is a spear seven feet long; the shield is double, — two ovals joined longitudinally; the stirrup is broad and flat, to rest the foot; the bit, a curb with a single rein; the saddle only a tree covered with cloths; the housings of a checked pattern; the half-armor consists of a corselet, and gorget running round the shoulders, and the head-covering is only a turban, but with doubtless an iron lining, making it really a helmet. Their swords were of various patterns, — the short Roman *gladius,* for hacking; the long cut-and-thrust; and the sharp curved, flexible cimeter. These were all of excellent workmanship: the secret, no doubt, was brought from Damascus; but those manufactured at Bordeaux, Seville, and Toledo, were soon as highly prized as the Eastern blades.[2] The light bucklers were made of antelope's skin, which is noted for its toughness and durability. In their later warfare, the cross-bow largely supplanted the long-bow. But their armor, offensive and defensive, was never equal in strength and protection to that of the Christians. The intro-

[1] Plates 42 and 43 of Murphy's Arabian Antiquities of Spain. London, 1813.

[2] Al Makkari, I. 94.

"It is a sword of Spain; the ice-brook's temper."
— *Othello,* V. 2.

duction of gunpowder made little modification of their arms and armor, as it had not begun to play a very important part before they were expelled from the Peninsula.

I have chosen to speak more at length of Cordova, because its customs and manners were eminently representative: it was the Moslem capital, and held highest in the estimation of the Faithful in Spain. But each of the other cities had its peculiar claims to consideration. Toledo was renowned for its Roman remains and the twilight of Gothic splendors, and for the strength of the Muzarabic element. In Granada the Jewish remnant was strong. Cadiz contained the oldest relics of ante-Roman times. Jaen and the comarca of Ubeda were famed for their dancing-girls; and Seville was known everywhere for its excellence in music, as Cordova was for its libraries. Abú-l-Walid Ibn Roschd, the famous Averroes, once said, and doubtless he spoke of a notoriety of long standing: "If a learned man dies at Seville, and his heirs wish to sell his library, they generally send it to Cordova to be disposed of; and when, on the contrary, a musician dies at Cordova, and his instruments are to be sold, the custom is to send them to Seville."[1]

Peculiar claims of other cities.

The local literature of these cities is very rich, but the details concern rather the enthusiastic traveller than the philosophic historian.

NOTE.—Dozy has given, in his "Dictionnaire des Noms des Vêtements chez les Arabes," the Arabic names, with some descriptions of the Arabian costumes: the work is full of the desultory information

[1] Al Makkari, I. 42.

which a lexicon affords. In it he says that the Arabians in their movements, having little care for the tailor's art, adopted to some extent the clothing of the peoples whom they conquered. Thus from the Persians, and the court of Baghdad, they learned splendor and luxury in dress. In the West, on the contrary, they adopted the simple and coarser dress of the Moors and Berbers. "En Espagne, surtout pendant la dernière époque de leur Empire ils tirèrent un très grand parti du costume des chevaliers Chrétiens." (Introduction, p. 2.) In the twelfth century, they adopted "the fashion of the Christians for their clothing, arms, bridles, and saddles." (Ib. 3.) "When Philip II. forbade the Spanish Moors — Moriscoes — to wear their *national* costume, a Moor . . . expressed himself thus: 'The costume of our women is not Moorish: it is provincial, as in Castile. In other countries, the Moslem people differ in head-dress, in clothes, in shoes; . . . for that of Fez is not like that of Tlemcen, nor that of Tunis like that of Morocco; it is not the same for Turkey and other empires.'" (Ib. 3, 4.) Silk was permitted to women, but forbidden to men, except a slight border of it to their robes. The approved colors were white and black. "God," said the prophet, "loves white clothing, and created Paradise white."

The first dress consisted of shirt and drawers, then came a woollen robe (*djobbah*), which was varied afterwards in shape and size. This is called in the East a *kaftan*. Black was at first the sign of mourning; but the Khalifs of the Ommeyades in Spain adopted white instead; *red* in the East and *yellow* in Morocco were called *angry* or *vengeance clothing* ("l'habillement de la colère"). *Albornoz*, or *burnous*, was a cloak with hood, used chiefly in Africa, of various colors: it corresponds to the Egyptian *kaftan*. It was somewhat used in Spain as a *water-proof*. As a covering for the feet, the *avarcas*, or *flat boats*, were wide sandals of untanned leather, used in rain and snow. As in Bible narratives, presents of clothing, changes of garments, were received with special favor, not only for their intrinsic value, but because they had been worn by the lord or lady bountiful who presented them.

CHAPTER III.

THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

THE Khalif (Khaleffeh) was, by the meaning of the word, the successor or vicar of the Prophet; but this acceptation was soon extended to imply that he was also the vicar of God or God's vicegerent on the earth. In the palmiest days of the Mohammedan dominion, the government was carefully administered, and with good results. Of the earlier times, the times of conquest and invasion, there is little political record: the Khalif appointed viceroys in Egypt and Africa; and the viceroys appointed Amírs in the western provinces, subject to the Khalif's sanction. When Spain became a distinct Khalifate, throwing off the Eastern yoke of the Abbasides, and becoming independent under Abdu-r-rahmán, the new monarch and his immediate successors, while maintaining the same general system, called themselves, until the accession of Abdu-r-rahmán III., *Amírs*, sons of the *Khalif* (Benu-l-khaláyif). That sovereign was the first of the new dynasty in Spain who assumed the title, Prince of the Believers and Vicar of Allah.

Power of the Khalif.

The dominion of the Khalif was eminently theocratic, and this was what preserved it from being entirely autocratic. Of civil and municipal law there

were no special codes; and, without a code, there can be, in the proper sense of the term, no nationality and no patriotism. The Khalif ruled by the precepts, sometimes vague and often contradictory, of the Korán, which served in all Mohammedan countries for law and for gospel both. The Arabian annalists take great pleasure in recording brilliant acts of justice, generosity, and forgiveness in the administration of various Khalifs; but these shine as the voluntary actions of an autocrat, who, had he chosen, might have left them undone, or might have been guilty of injustice with impunity.[1]

The Khalif supreme.

He was indeed supreme in practice; as fixed grounds of administration were wanting, the opinions and caprices of one man took the place of law, until his intolerable oppression, rousing the people to fury, caused them to depose the tyrant, and rally under the revolutionary banner of some adventurer who became a tyrant in his turn. And yet, under the great expounders of the Korán, a system of political ethics was attempted: and that can hardly be called an absolute dominion which in practice must govern itself by religious laws read in every mosque; expounded by the Friday preachers; taught in the schools; and, by divine authority, made quite as binding upon the governors as upon the governed. If the monarch governed within the limits set by the Korán and the Sunneh, loyalty was implicitly demanded by these; if he overstepped these limits, he forfeited his throne.

[1] See the stories of Al-mansúr and Al-mu'atassem: Al Makkari, I. 133.

After the death of the Prophet, and until the accession of Mu'áwiyah, the Khalif was elected by the people, or by their representatives. Mu'áwiyah made it hereditary; and without distinct enactment, the custom obtained that the Khalif chose his successor, from among his own sons, not necessarily by primogeniture, but by a consideration of fitness. These sons were carefully educated to make the choice easy and just. This is exactly analogous to the growth of English monarchy before the Conquest. The kings were elected by the Witenagemot, but the choice, at first entirely free, was soon limited to the royal family, and by custom the eldest son: by tradition it has remained so ever since.

At first elective.

Starting with this supremacy of the Khalif as absolute monarch and high pontiff, — "the vicar of God," "the shadow of God," — we find the system of government taking form in the appointment of *Ulemas*,[1] or wise men, — the Moslem Witenagemot, — a body which in later days contained three classes, — the *Imáms*, who were the chief ministers of religion; the *Muftis*, who expounded the law; and the *Khadis*, or dispensers of justice.

From a work by Ibnu Sa'id, written in the thirteenth century, entitled "Shining Stars in the Just and Partial Descriptions of the Eastern and Western Governments," we may gather the special offices and methods of administration. "The title of *Wizír*," says Ibnu Khaldun, under the Sultáns of Cordova, was given to certain functionaries, in whose

The Wizírs.

[1] *Ulemah* is a noun of multitude, or plural form, from *Alim*, wise, like the *witena* of the Anglo-Saxons.

hands rested the management of public affairs and each of whom had under his care one branch of the administration : thus there were Wizírs at the heads of the financial department, the foreign relations, the administration of justice and redress of injuries: lastly, the care of the frontiers, and the provision and equipment of the troops, would each constitute a separate and independent office under the special care of a wizír.[1] These were generally chosen from noble families, and after a time the title became more or less hereditary, like that of the Khalif; and at last included all those who were admitted to the monarch's privacy, or sat in his council. Thus the title became honorary.[2] The general charge of affairs was confided to a Grand Wizír, or prime minister (often created viceroy), known as the *nayib*, a title borrowed from Egypt; and some of the other ministers, wizírs at the head of departments, were called *hagibs,* — men who screened or curtained the Khalif, shutting or opening his door at appointed times, and standing with him when he gave audiences.[3] The appointment or the family succession in the wizírate was of course always subject to the approval of the Khalif. The nayib and hagibs were of his own appointment; but it will be readily seen that,

Nayib and hagib.

[1] The word *wizárah* means the act of supporting a weight; i. e., easing the Khalif's burden. Other derivations have been proposed from *wezer*, a refuge, *uzr*, back or strength. The general meaning is the same.

[2] From the Arabic *Al-wazír*, the Spaniards have made *Alguazil.*

[3] Gayangos, I. app. xxix. The titles *hagib* and *wizír* became somewhat interchangeable ; but originally the *hagib* had the more important functions, and stood as an intermediary between the Khalif and all others, including the wizírs.

as in other countries, weak monarchs would be controlled by their ministers; and in later reigns, more than once, the *hagib* became a *maire du palais,* as in the Merovingian times in France, and, deposing the monarch, seated himself upon the throne. It is recorded of Abdu-r-rahmán III. that he was so pleased with one of his ministers, Ibn Shoheyd, that he doubled his functions and salary, making him *Dhú-l-wizarateyn* (holder of the double wizírate), the first functionary of Andalus upon whom that title was conferred.[1]

In considering the authority of the monarch and the strength of his administration, we must not fail to give due weight to the popular element in the political problem. During the rule of the Ommeyades in Spain, it was not of infrequent occurrence that governors and judges were pelted and insulted when the people thought their decisions unjust; and so jealous was the mob for the faith of Islám, that if the Khalif or any of his favorites had displayed heretical tendencies, the populace would have stormed the palace in spite of the body-guard, and torn the guilty person to pieces.[2]

Thus autocracy and democracy met on the common ground of a creed which made the Khalif and the meanest of his people equal in the eyes of Allah and in their own estimation.

Katibs, or Secretaries.

Under the hagibs, the official correspondence was conducted by *katibs,* or under-secretaries; and, as much of this was of a secret nature, — especially that of a diplomatic character, that con-

[1] Al Makkari, Mohammedan Dynasties, II. 150.
[2] Ib. I. 112.

cerning the residence and protection of Christians and Jews, and that with the provincial governors,—the katibs were important and confidential servants of the government.

The whole subject of the assessment and collection of the revenues was placed, under the ministers, in the hands of the *sáhíbu-l-ashgal* (master of the occupations), who ranked among the wizírs, and conducted this department with great exactitude. His financial importance was from the first a development, as originally the duty was confided to clever, liberated slaves. It rose with the Almohades, and again sank, under the growing power of the *hagibs.*[1] The revenues from taxes were all included under the generic name *sazakah,* "that which every true believer offers to God."[2] The remaining revenues included special tributes, and the large sums paid by Christians and Jews in exchange for permission to live and retain their religions.

The executive cabinet being thus formed, we turn next to the department of justice, which was confided under the special wizír, to numerous judges, or kádis, who were possessed of extraordinary powers. Law courts and juries, as we now know them, did not exist; but there were two tribunals, the great and the small *shortah,* the head of each being called *sáhibu,* and the sáhibu of the great *shortah* could investigate and punish offences committed by

Kádis, the scope of their powers.

[1] Gayangos, I. App. XXXII.

[2] This included a tenth of the products of land; one out of forty cattle, sheep, etc.; a tax of two and one half per cent on imports and exports. Ornaments and books were not taxed.

people of the highest degree, including princes of the blood. The head of the small *shortah* only had cognizance of crimes and misdemeanors committed by the lower classes. Thus justice was administered "in the gates," upon an elevated seat, surrounded by guards. Each party to any suit could plead his own cause before the kádi or sahib, but the head of the household was supreme in cases affecting wives and children. The power of the judges grew to be fixed and irreversible, and Ibnú Sa'id tells us that "whenever a judge summoned the Khalif, his son, or any of his beloved favorites, to appear in his presence as a witness in a judicial case, whoever was the individual summoned would attend in person, — if the Khalif, out of respect for the law; and if a subject, for fear of incurring his master's displeasure."[1]

The authority of the kádis took cognizance of all offences against morality, and they could punish any offender with death. Among the Eastern Arabs, and probably in Spain, a first theft was punished by the loss of the left hand, and plunging the stump into boiling tar or oil; a second, by cutting off the left foot; a third, the right hand; a fourth, the right foot; at last by death!

Among these officers of justice was one in each town called the *mohtesib,* whose duty it was, like a similar functionary in Turkey at the present day (*mohtesib aga*), to ride through the shops and markets daily, with an attendant carrying a pair of scales; he fixed weights, measures, and prices, and punished

[1] Kitábu-l-mugh'rab, "Shining Stars," etc., quoted by Al Makkari.

false weights and measures, and attempts at extortion, with great severity.

To guard against the entrance of robbers, who infested the environs of cities, at each gate were watchmen with dark lanterns, who patrolled within and without, and were in easy communication with a main guard. To proclaim their vigilance, they cried from time to time, "Allah-il-Allah," or varied this with sentences from the Korán, or called upon the Faithful to "attest the Unity" (of God).

Night watchmen in the city.

The provinces, generally seven in number, were intrusted to the care of *walis*, or governors, who reported at stated times to the central government, but who often, like the Roman proconsuls, aspired to independent authority, and thus gave a momentum to the decline of Arabian power in the Peninsula.

In order to give greater importance to the autocratic Khalif in the eyes of the people, he was enthroned in great and costly splendor, and surrounded by a very numerous body-guard, chosen from the large armies which were kept on foot for foreign wars, and to guard against invasions. In this the Spanish Khalifs vied with the orientals. In the palmy days of the Spanish Khalifate, when a review of six hundred thousand foot and three hundred thousand horse is said to have taken place in the plains of Cordova, this guard of picked soldiers, splendidly equipped, numbered twelve thousand men, one third Christians: they were officered by members of the royal family, and were in that day what the *garde impériale* was to the first Napoleon. To keep up such a force

The army and the throne.

and such a court, it was "necessary for the Khalifs to impose new tributes on their Moslem subjects, although every exaction of the kind is expressly forbidden by the text of the law."[1] In the days of Abdu-r-rahmán I. this sum was about seven millions of dollars (300,000 dinars); it had increased in the days of Abdu-r-rahmán III. to more than fifteen millions of dollars. The stories of the luxurious splendor in which the Spanish Khalifs indulged read like those in the Arabian Nights.

The treatment of Jews and Christians.

I have already referred, somewhat at length, to the treatment of the Jews and Christians. Abstractly considered, the problem was not a difficult one, but practically it was rendered troublesome by religious rancor and prejudice. Rigorous in obeying the requirements of their own creed, and believing all others to be imperfect and false, it is still to be observed that the Moslemah were far more tolerant to unbelievers of every religion, than Christian sects have been in later periods to each other, and than Christians have been in all ages to the Jews. This partial toleration has been one strong reason for the comparative ease with which they have fastened their yoke upon conquered nations. Apostates only were punished with death. Those who paid the required tribute were free in the exercise of their religion. And this toleration was a generous thought, as well as a politic enactment of their Prophet; for it would seem that the very genius of their faith gave them the abstract right to destroy all unbelievers.

[1] Al Makkari, I. 110.

All the Christians in Cordova, Seville, Toledo, and other large cities under Moslem dominion, adopted the language and manners of their conquerors, and were therefore called Mozarabes, or Musarabs, or "such as imitated the Arabs." To meet their religious needs, the Scriptures and the Visigothic liturgy of the church were translated into Arabic. This service, long sung in the land of their captivity, became greatly endeared to them; and when, in the ever-progressing march of the Spanish monarchs, the Christians of Toledo were redeemed from their bondage by Alfonso VI., they were unwilling to give up their liturgy for the newer form of the Spanish Gregorian; it was translated into the modern tongue, and long kept as *el oficio muzarabe.*[1] The reciprocal effect of these translations was seen in the growing familiarity of both Christians and Arabians with the literature and language of each other.

The Mozarabes.

I have already referred briefly to the treatment of women by the Mohammedans: it was an immense improvement upon what the Prophet found when he was excogitating his system; but the more benign inculcations of the Korán could not avert the petty tyranny of their lords and the strong prejudice against them. It was asserted by tradition that the Prophet had declared, "I stood at the gate

Estimate of women.

[1] The attempt to derive *Mozarab*, from *Musa-Arab*, as if they owed their privileges to Muza Ibn Nosseyr, fails; for the city surrendered not to Musa, but to Tarik, and if it had surrendered to Musa, the word should be, not *Musa-Arab*, but Musa-Gothi. — AL MAKKARI, I. 420. *El oficio Muzarabe* may be found in full, in "España Sagrada," vol. iii., Appendix.

of Paradise, and lo! most of its inmates were the poor; and I stood at the gate of Hell, and lo! most of its inmates were women." So cunning and wicked were they esteemed that it had passed into a proverb: "Consult a woman, and then do just the opposite of what she tells thee." The Arabian gave them no place in the moral and spiritual world. They were only of value from their physical and animal points, which were tabulated in a standard of *fours*. A woman should have four things *black*, namely, hair, eyebrows, eyelashes, and the dark part of the eyes; four things *white*, namely, the skin, the white of the eyes, the teeth, and the legs; four *red*, namely, the tongue, the lips, the middle of the cheek, and the gums; four *round*, namely, the head, the neck, the fore-arm, and the ankle; four *long*, — the back, the fingers, the arms, and the legs; four *wide*, — the forehead, the eyes, the bosom, and the hips; four *thick*, — the lower part of the back, the thighs, the calves, and the knees; four *small*, —the ears, the breast, the hands, and the feet.

Intelligence she could only need to amuse her master. Her chastity, concealed by a veil in public, was shut up in a seraglio and guarded by eunuchs.[1] For the pleasure of their masters slaves were taught to sing and play upon the lute — *el 'ood* — and to dance lasciviously. Thus woman was at once the slave of man's power and the goddess of his lust.

[1] These eunuchs were Northern giants, taken prisoners by the Franks, mutilated, and sold at the frontier to Andalusian merchants; but, Al Makkari adds (I. 76), some of the Moslems "have already learnt that art from the Franks, and now exercise it quite as well as they do."

Such was the vicious, underlying principle from which no scheme of real advancement for women could spring: but although the uncommon passions of the Prophet caused him to amend the Korán by direct revelation, allowing him any number of wives,[1] it should be borne in mind that his system, bad as it was, was better than the promiscuous concubinage which it superseded; it rather restrained an existing polygamy than established it as a new custom for his people. The number of wives permitted to a Moslem by the Korán was four, — whereas before most of them had eight or nine, — and they might be of his own faith, or Christians or Jewesses; but no Mohammedan woman might marry any one but a Mohammedan. While most men considered themselves at liberty to have as many concubines and slaves as they pleased besides their wives, the more strictly religious were of the opinion that they were limited to four women, whether wives or concubines.[2]

Polygamy and profligacy.

A wife might be twice divorced and twice taken back with or without consulting her wishes; but if divorced a third time she could not be taken again without her consent. Thus, a man having four wives might divorce one every month, and give great variety to his household. The Korán and the Sunneh prescribe a table of kindred and affinity within which a man may not marry, not unlike that prescribed by the Church of England; it was, however,

Divorce.

[1] "No crime is to be charged on the Prophet as to what God hath allowed him." — *Korán*, ch. xxxiii.

[2] Lane's Arabian Nights, notes to ch. iv.

common to choose as a wife a cousin, the daughter of a *paternal* uncle, because there was already a tie of blood, and, in many cases, an affection conceived in early life. As girls arrive at maturity in the East at an early age, they were often married at ten or twelve years, — the Prophet's wife, Ayesha, was only nine, — a custom somewhat modified by climate in Spain. The marriage contract might be only verbal; but the better classes confirmed it before the Kádi, and for them the ceremonies of betrothal and espousal were elaborate and splendid. The Mohammedans claim that their system of polygamy does away with the profligacy so rife among Christian people: in point of fact it only legalizes a profligacy which is acknowledged to be criminal among Christians.

Spanish prejudice.

The permission granted to the believers to marry Christian women led to much admixture of blood in southern Spain; and thus, while statistics are entirely wanting for determining the contingent of Moorish blood at the present day, and while the pride of the Spanish nation vaunts the *sangre azul* of the Goths, and despises the Moor, who taught him so much, it cannot be doubted that Moorish polygamy has left its permanent impression, as every traveller who sees the dark-eyed beauties of Cadiz, with their raven hair adorned with a single flower, and their swimming gait — an Arabian fashion, and a very pretty one — will be ready to admit. The reaction against this false pride has already begun in Seville; and the more the wonders of their Mohammedan period are studied, the sooner will it entirely disappear. I am disposed to think that the system of

polygamy, repulsive as it always is, is less so as exhibited among the Arab-Moors in Spain than elsewhere. The intuitive warmth and poetic imagination of the ardent Arabian nature were moulded and tempered by their contact with the Christians. Romantic love adventures, in which Christian knights wooed Moorish maidens, or valiant sheyks fascinated Christian damsels, displayed a spirit less sensuous than that of the Eastern harem, and an atmosphere more favorable to real conjugal attachment than was to be found among the degraded races of the East.

Woman better treated in Spain.

In Spain, the condition of woman was constantly improving, while the counter process of degradation has been constantly going on in the first seats of Mohammedan power. The poets among Spanish Arabs sang the charms of woman's loveliness in as witching and tender strains as Moore, in "The Light of the Harem;" while from the seraglio itself have come forth from woman's lips notes of true poetry, showing her culture and the elevation of her mind, and claiming loyal respect and affection as her right.

With this brief summary of the system of government and of social and domestic life among the Spanish Arabs, I wish to call attention once more to the important fact that the practical administration of such a system, political and social, was founded

The power of the Korán.

upon the inculcations of the Korân, which controlled alike the governor and the governed in all the circumstances of life. The Khalif was amenable to its decrees, and his every act was scrutinized by the people, who could judge, if they

could not punish. His appointments to office were not the result of favoritism, but of a desire to secure the best men, suited to their several positions by their learning, energy, and probity. As they received neither salary nor fees, the selections were made among the rich, or the appointees were made rich, so that there might be no temptation to dishonesty, "lest their poverty should induce them to covet the property of others, and sell justice to the pleaders." [1] Thus the great desire of all public officers was to gain an extended reputation for wisdom, dignity, and probity.

[1] Al Makkari, I. 108.

BOOK X.

THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARAB-MOORS.

CHAPTER I.

THE ARABIC LANGUAGE: POETRY.

I PROPOSE now to consider very briefly the intellectual culture and development of the Arabians in Spain, which, finding their source in the East, and fostered by emulation and national ambition, were to be felt and imitated by western Europe, which, while Cordova was the shining seat of science and learning, was yet lying in comparative darkness and barbarism. Nothing further can be attempted in the limits of this work than a slight synoptical sketch of their progress in literature, in art, in the mathematical and physical sciences, and in philosophy, with such references to authorities as will enable the reader to enter upon a more extended study for himself. Instead of giving details, I can only mention the principal steps and the great results of their intelligence and industry. For this extended study, the achievements of the Mohammedans at the East, the glorious civilization of Baghdad, to which I have already referred, must be passed in review. I can

only mention in brief what was achieved in the Peninsula.

The foremost topic in this inquiry is the Arabic language. It was a full, powerful, and flexible instrument, singularly distinct from those of the surrounding nations. As early as the middle of the sixth century of our era, only eighteen years after the death of the Prophet, it had a complete grammar. Of the Shemitic or oriental family of languages, it is known as the *southern branch,* the Aramaic being the northern, and the Hebrew the middle; such were its relationships. It has no alliance, yet discovered, with the Indo-European languages, which are all of the Aryan family. The chief feature in it to be observed is what may be called its *concentration.* In a country kept singularly distinct from its neighbors, patriarchal and primitive, free from foreign incursions, it remained almost the same in the lapse of time, and suffered less than most other languages from dialectic differences.

The Arabic language.

The Aramaic, itself a corrupted speech, owing its origin to the Hebrew, was formerly spoken in the countries lying between the Mediterranean and Persia on the one side, and bounded by Asia Minor or Armenia on the other. Divided into the East Aramaic, improperly called Chaldaic, and the West Aramaic or Syriac, it partook in the former of the Hebrew and Babylonian, and in the latter branch it became tinctured with Greek, Latin, Persian, and Arabic.[1]

The Hebrew, the vehicle of the ancient Scriptures,

[1] Herzog's Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia: *Aramaic.*

long but erroneously considered the original language of mankind, though scattered in the numerous dispersions and final conquest, has retained its identity by reason of its sacred character, and has been, although called a dead language, a half-living language in all parts of the world.

Of the Shemitic family.

The Arabic, indigenous in Arabia, has, by reason of the concentration of which I have spoken, a very marked and powerful individuality; its structure is strong and its vocabulary full. Among its older documents, and before its adoption of the present alphabet, it is found in the Himyaritic inscriptions, which tell us of a legendary king of Yemen named Himyar, and of a dynasty, steadily emerging into the light of true history, from about a century and a half before Christ until several centuries after. It was early divided into two principal dialects, the northern and southern, of which the former is the purer, — the language of the Korán. With the adoption of an alphabet it became fixed before the days of Mohammed, and was kept in its purity by the Koreish, whose central residence was at Mecca, and who had the charge of the Kaaba. The first set of characters used in writing was the *Kufic*, which was soon superseded by those at present in use, called the *Neskhi*. Like the other Shemitic languages it is read from right to left, and each letter of the alphabet has four forms, — the isolated, the initial, the medial, and the final.[1] There are seven

[1] The change made in European languages, reading from left to right, was a progressive improvement of the Greeks; they read the first line from right to left, and the second from left to right, and

styles of writing, but we have as many, — the Anglo-Saxon, Old English, Roman capitals and small letters, Italics, etc. We have already seen that before the advent of Mohammed they were not without literary enterprise. Like the Greeks at the Olympic and Isthmian games, and perhaps in imitation of them, they recited poems on the occasion of great public festivities, the most successful of which won prizes and were carefully preserved among the national treasures. Seven of the most celebrated of these, called the Arabian Pleiades, were engrossed in letters of gold, on cloth of a fine texture made of flax or silk, called *byssus*, and hung upon the walls of the holy house at Mecca: hence they were called Moallakât, the *suspended*, and Modhahabat, *the golden verses*. These poems, presented to English readers in the accurate translations of Sir William Jones, and standing as the earliest models of Arabian verse, describe the nomadic life of the primitive Bedouins; the praise of woman, — with a neck like the gazelle, with long black locks, waving like the fronded palm, with a figure slender and flexible; the joys, pains, and rhapsodies of love, intermingled with mythological romances and heroic adventures, and with pictures of the chase and the splendor of festivals. Fresnel, in his "Lettres sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme," says: "It was in this congress of Arabian poets (and almost every warrior was a poet in the age I am considering) that the dialects of Arabia became fused into a magic

Early poetry.

so on; they called this *βουστροφηδόν*, or turning like ploughing oxen, in alternate furrows.

language, the language of Hejáz, which Mohammed made use of to subvert the world; for the triumph of Mohammedanism is nothing else than the triumph of speech."[1]

Such was the feeble dawn of Arabian literature; the trial of callow wings which were soon to essay a higher flight; the entrance from the age of ignorance to its *first* great period, at the threshold of which stands Mohammed holding aloft the Korán, as the universal teacher. As the vehicle of this new scripture, the language has from that time to this retained its vitality. Its sisters, the Hebrew and the Aramaic, are for all oral purposes dead: it remains a living language. Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, was the first to cherish letters, writing much himself especially in the way of proverbial philosophy; while to Mu'áwiyah, the first of the Ommeyades in the East, is due the introduction of Greek literature and the liberal protection of men of letters.

Wherever the conquerors marched and subdued, they presented their language to the conquered, either supplanting or greatly modifying other tongues. The Korán was everywhere the great teacher both of religion and grammar. Commentaries were written; traditions collected in works like the Sunneh; doctrinal expositions and schemes of civil law were excogitated; schools sprang up around the mosques; Arabic versions of works existing in other languages were made; and soon original Arabian authorship was encouraged, in history, science, and poetry; so that we find bibliographers at work, making lists and

[1] Lane's Arabian Nights, ch. i. note 18.

giving sketches of authors in the chief cities, — divided according to special subjects of study.

The language in Spain.

When the Arabic language came into Spain, it soon reigned almost supreme, too nervous and self-reliant, too strongly imbued with the spirit of the conquest to receive much from its contact with the Vascongada of the Basque provinces, the jargon of the Celtiberian tribes, the Latin of their first conquerors, or the German creole of the Goths.

The *written* language was not essentially altered in its transit from east to west,[1] either in its characters or the spelling of words; but penmanship seems to have been an important art, as the peculiar form and junction of letters, and the somewhat arbitrary use of points, gave rise to numerous serious errors. The proverbial penman of the Arabians in Spain was Ibn Moklah,[2] who served three dynasties as wizír, and thrice copied the Korán in so beautiful a hand that all good writing was eulogized as "Ibn Moklah's hand." The Spanish Arabs, however, adopted a peculiar mode of forming the letters, which,

Writing.

[1] Ibnu Sa'id, referring to the looseness of the Arabic in conversation, says: "What I have stated about the language used in Andalus must be applied only to the Arabic as used in conversation, and by no means to their writings, for they are the most strict and rigid of men in observing the grammatical rules in their writings." — AL MAKKARI, I. 143.

[2] Al Makkari, Vol. I. note 5 to book ii. ch. iv. At the time, probably a protracted period, when the Kufic characters were being superseded by the Neskhi, the penman was obliged often to use his judgment, and became an important instrument in the gradual change; but, the new alphabet once established, he became only a transcriber.

to judge from existing manuscripts, was quite equal, if not superior, in clearness and beauty to the writing of the East.

But it will readily be seen that the *spoken* language would undergo great changes in its wide diffusion in Asia, Africa, and Europe. To show how early this was the case, it is said that the Khalif Al Walid, son of Abdu-l-malek, spoke so badly that he could not be understood by the Bedouins. New words and modes of expression would be introduced, corruptions would creep in, inflections would be lost, and thus the Arabic spoken at Cordova would differ materially from that of Baghdad, while yet the literary language would remain substantially the same. Such was indeed the case; and it is pithily expressed by Ibnu Sa'id: "Should an Eastern Arab hear even the prince of Andalusian grammarians, Shalubin,[1] conversing with another man, he would burst out laughing to hear the blunders he made in speaking." The period referred to is at the close of the twelfth century; but the process of change and corruption had been going on in the spoken language from the beginning. In process of time, this laxity of speech reacted upon the written language.

Changes in the spoken language.

The Korán indeed went everywhere with the conquerors, but it became an archaic volume; and, so far have the Arabians of to-day departed from the language in which it was written, that it is now taught in their colleges almost as a dead language,

[1] "Shalubin (Abú 'Ali Ash-shalúbíní) was born in 1166, and died in 1247. He is chiefly known as a lecturer on Grammar." — AL MAKKARI, I. 142, 479.

while the Arabic of Algiers is quite a different tongue, for which the French conquerors have provided grammar, dictionary, and phrase-books. In the introduction to one of these,[1] the author says: "When the interpreters of the expedition arrived in Africa, although they had zealously pursued at Paris the lessons of the most learned professors of Oriental languages, they found, to their great disappointment, that they could not make themselves intelligible to the Arabs, and succeeded no better in understanding them."

While such changes were going on in the Arabic of Spain, the Spanish language was being gradually formed among the Christians of the North. The basis of this was the corrupted Latin which, before the Visigothic invasion, had been spoken throughout Spain, and had been largely adopted by these conquerors. First, a Roman Rustic, like that of Southern France, was formed. It owed little to the original dialects, somewhat to the German of the Goths, not much to the Basque, but received words from the numerous peoples who had at any time dwelt in Spain.[2] The little band of Pelayo had taken with it into the Asturias their religion, laws, customs, and modified Latin. There are no literary

The origin of the Spanish language.

[1] Cours de la Langue Arabe, ou les Dialectes Vulgaire d'Algers, de Maroc, de Tunis et d'Egypte. Par J. F. Bled de Braine, ex-Directeur des Ecoles Arabes d'Alger.

[2] "Al Latin raiz principal y elemento dominante siempre se agrerarian voces célticas, euskaras, fenicias, púnicas, griegas y hebreas, y que alterando su sintaxis, y modificándole en sus casos, desinencias é inflexiones dieron nacimiento á la lengua mixta, que perfeccionada y enriquecida habia de ser la que despues habláron los Españoles." — LA FUENTE, *Historia de España*, III. 394.

remains of the Hispano-Gothic speech. The chronicles are in Latin; and this, by the loss of inflections and the abounding corruptions, became the Spanish. The first fair specimen of the new language is found in the "Poema del Cid," which was probably written in the middle of the twelfth century, about fifty years after the death of its hero; and this has been characterized as very barbarous in description and in language.[1]

The question has often been asked, To what extent has the Spanish, in its formation and development, been influenced by the Arabic? The data of this problem are so numerous and diversified, that its solution is extremely difficult under the best conditions; but the hatred of the Christian Spaniards towards their Arabian conquerors, and their jealousy of Moorish merit in every direction, have rendered such an investigation so unpalatable to Spanish scholars, that it remains for future and foreign hands. Condé, who was disposed to do the invaders more justice, and who was coldly regarded for his liberal opinions, says: "Our rich language owes much to the Arabian, not in isolated words only, but even in idioms, terms of expression, metaphoric forms and phrases, all of which serve to justify the remark that the Spanish is in so far but a corrupted dialect of the Arabian."[2] This is strong language; and with it, as in the strongest contrast, I cite the opinion of Ticknor, who, speaking of the

What it owes to the Arabic.

[1] The "Poema del Cid" may be found in the collection of ancient Castilian poets, by D. Tomas Antonio Sanchez, 1779.

[2] Preface to "Dominacion de los Arabes," etc.

charter of Avilés in the Asturias, bearing date of 1155, and thus of the same period as the "Poem of the Cid," remarks, "that the new dialect just emerging from the corrupted Latin is little or not at all affected by the Arabic infused into it in the Southern provinces." We may believe that, as the Arab-Moors retained their foothold in Spain for three hundred years later, the infusion spread, and the Northern speech became more and more affected by the Arabic. To the Arabic the Spanish language certainly owes its syllabic accent.

The Arabians have left few names of places, and these generally are called after men, — as Tarifa, Gibraltar, perhaps Granada. They adopted and corrupted the existing names, as Ishbilia, Kortuba, Andalus, etc. But a great many words of Arabian origin have been received into the Spanish, and some of them, such as camisa, azucar, arsenal, escarlata, sierra (from Sahra, a desert mountain), have been adopted by many European languages. D. Pascual de Gayangos has given, at the close of his second volume,[1] a list of Spanish words of Arabic derivation, which are used in his translation of Al Makkari, to the number of about two hundred, which could of course be greatly enlarged. Among them

In words.

[1] Marina, in his Memoir on the Origin and Progress of the Spanish Language (Academia de la Historia, Vol. IV.), gives great influence to the Arabic; and Joseph Scaliger says that there are so many Arabic words in the language, that they would form a lexicon by themselves. Quoted by La Fuente, III. 395. Among the names of articles of clothing, Dozy gives, burnous (albornos), babouche (Gr. πάπουτσι), jupe and jupon (djobba, chupa), sash (schásch), toque, zapato and zapatero. (Dictionnaire, List at end.)

the majority begin with the article *al*, which in almost every case denotes an Arabian origin: such are algebra, alchemy, alembic, alcalde, alcantara (the bridge), alcazar, alhamra, alameda, alfaquir, and a thousand others. How much the provincial and local dialects of the Moors and Berbers contributed, by indigenous or corrupted words, is a distinct and difficult question. But besides these lexical tributes we must include the forms of thought and modes of proverbial expression of which the Spanish is full, and which are the vehicle of the "wit and wisdom" of Don Quixote. The traveller in Spain, as he listens to the proverbs in the mouth of every peasant, seems transported to the land and period of the Arabian Nights.

Endowed with such a noble language, the Spanish Arabs in the great centres were ardent lovers of knowledge, and displayed a general enthusiasm for study. Foolish and ignorant men were everywhere regarded with contempt, while the learned, whether noble or plebeian, were consulted and honored by all. Abú Hayyan, a celebrated grammarian who lived in the thirteenth century, relates the following anecdote of Ibn Bájeh of Granada, who, on entering the great mosque, found a teacher of grammar and rhetoric surrounded by his pupils. They rose on his entrance, and asked him what he would do for science, and what he carried under his arm? "I carry," he answered, "twelve thousand dinars in the form of twelve splendid rubies, each worth a thousand, but they are of less value than twelve ardent youths studying our language." He

Honor to poets and men of learning.

then drew lots among them, and gave them the best of his rubies.[1]

It may be added, in speaking of the best period of Spanish-Arabian culture, that while they had shown themselves equal to the Christians in adventurous valor, they far exceeded them in civilization, in science, and in literature.[2]

We come now to consider briefly the nature of their achievements in the special departments of literature and science, and are attracted first to their poetry.

Spanish Arabian poetry.

This was a branch of literary effort for the cultivation of which they had, by instinct and language, peculiar facilities: and, in consequence, they displayed in it great enthusiasm and assiduity; especially at Baghdad in the reigns of Haroun and Al Mamun. The Arabic language gives great ease in passing from prose to poetry. By nature, like all Eastern peoples, they delighted in metaphor and apologue: they were as euphuistic as Lyly; from title to colophon they strained after happy illustrations; plain speech was water, metaphor and allegory were the wine of Shiraz. Thus the epic was beyond their flight; their poems are languishing idyls or passionate lyrics, very easily distinguished from the romaunts of Christian chivalry. With such tastes it may be readily understood that they could not sympathize with the cold stateliness of the Greek poetry.

[1] Al Makkari, I. 139, 146.

[2] On this subject the reader is referred to the learned work of Von Hammer Purgstall, "Litteraturgeschichte der Araber," Vols. I. and V.

Poetry with them was an art which every man might attempt, and there were many children who, like Pope, "lisped in numbers," to the great delight of their parents. We have, according to Al Makkari, a biographical account of poets born in Andalus. The works referred to in it bear figurative titles, rather confusing than suggestive, not perhaps without intention. Thus, a collection of verses by Ibn Faraj is called *kitábu-l-hadayak*, "the book of the enclosed gardens." Of another book of poems by Ali Ibn Musa Abú-l-Hasan Al-jayyérú, who lived in the tenth century, Ibnu Sa'iḍ says: "Had the Andalusians no other work to boast of than that entitled *Shodhúru-l-dhahab* (gold particles), this alone would be sufficient to prove their eloquence and establish their fame as poets."[1]

The latter contains a poem on Alchemy, which was so highly esteemed, that it was commonly said of the author, "If Abú-l-Hasan's poem cannot teach thee how to make gold, it will at least teach thee how to write verses;" and again, "Abú-l-Hasan's gold may be surpassed, but his science cannot." Poetic eloquence was considered "lawful magic."

As the Arabian nature was of quick perception, fertile fancy, and remarkable command of language, there were many more poets than among the colder and more prosaic nations of the North; and those who were not ready writers were ardent and appreciative hearers. The poet became thus the universal teacher, — from the singer on the highway to the bard who chanted before kings. An

The poet is the teacher.

[1] Al Makkari, I. 185.

honored guest among the great, his versatile art at the same time touched the sensibilities, and conveyed instruction to the mind. By it he taught grammar, rhetoric, biography, history,[1] theology, medicine, chemistry, — all the training of the schools.

This was in part due, as I have said, to the peculiar conditions of the language, — it is eminently poetic, — and although every scholar knows in a general way the great inadequacy of translations, I am inclined to think that no poetry suffers more in the transcription than the Arabic.

The following will serve as an illustration of the impossibility of judging of their rhythmic effects. Ibnu-l-monkhol and his little son in an afternoon walk came up to a pool in their road, and began to cap verses thus: "Go on," said the father, —

Illustrations.

> "The frogs are croaking in that pool,"
> "Yes, and with no sweet melody, troth."
> "Their language was boisterous —
> When they called the Beni Al-Mallah."

As they approached the frogs became silent, and the father said, —

> "Thou hast become mute like these frogs,"
> "When they collected for scandal."
> "There is no help for the oppressed,"
> "And no rain for those who want it."

Of this singular verse-making, doubtless not without rhetorical harmony in the original, the historian

[1] There is an entertaining "History of Andalus," in verse, by Al Ghazal, the philosopher and poet.

says: "Certainly no one can doubt that this finishing of hemistichs is highly deserving of praise: had it been executed by a learned man advanced in life, it would have commanded the greatest attention; but being, as it was, the work of a mere boy, it was a wonderful performance, and well worthy of remark."[1]

The defects of Arabian poetry.

Thoroughly satisfied as I am of the superior general culture of the Arabians, I am inclined to think that the excellence of their poetry, as tried either by classical canons or modern taste, has been greatly overrated. It is sweet, but turgid: from its almost universal application its afflatus is lost; it gilds commonplaces. It reacts upon and injures prose, and is itself injured in the contact. It labors to find conceits, and thus is forced in sentiment and superlative in expression. And yet doubtless there is a great charm in the variety of its cadenced sounds, a rhetorical harmony which is totally lost in translation; a *mélange* of the hum of bees, the twitter of swallows, and the note of the whippoorwill; a charm of nature's chorus in changing melodies, constantly returning to the key-note; for the Arabian poetry was always in *recitative;* they chanted their verses in rhythmic divisions.

The most favorite forms of poetry were, — the Ghazele, the Kassídah, and the Divan.

The Ghazele.

The Ghazele was a love-song or short ode, something like what we call a canzonet or sonnet, containing from fourteen to twenty-six lines, alternately rhyming. The Kassídah is a longer and more pretentious piece, at once descrip-

[1] Al Makkari, I. 157.

tive and epic; sometimes a scrap of history poetically treated, sometimes a tale in verse. It generally contains from forty to two hundred lines.

The Kassídah.

The Divan is a collection of the smaller poems, generally Ghazeles, compiled and connected according to arbitrary rules. Among these rules or rather poetical customs was the use of assonances or imperfect rhymes, a feature adopted and permanently embodied in Spanish poetry. In much of the Arabian verse the second line of each couplet ends with the same word. It was considered a great feat to have all the letters of the alphabet systematically recognized in a poem, somewhat like our writing of acrostics.

The Divan.

But the poetic tendencies of the Arabians are not best displayed in these more important forms: some of the sweetest and most effective lines are found in impromptu verses, — a couplet or two, — and in happy repartees, often, we may suppose, carefully prepared, but having an extemporaneous appearance, which won from the rich and great large rewards to the happy poet. The Arabian Nights are full of such detached jewels of poetry, which add greatly to their charms. Sultan and slave, priest and merchant, traveller and soldier, vie with each other in poetic conceits which bear largely upon the fortunes of all.

Extended specimens of Arabian poetry in English translation would be out of place in such a digest as this. A few examples from the works of the Spanish Arabians will illustrate the *genre*.

Thus, in praise of friendship, Ibn Zeydun, in the

eleventh century, sings: "We passed the night alone with no other companion but friendship and union; and, while happiness and slumber fled from the eyelids of our detractors, the shadows of night retained us in the secret bonds of pleasure, until the tongue of morning began to herald our names." [1]

The praise of friendship.

"Name to me," says an Andalusian, speaking of the Sherif At-talik, "one of your poets who has described the color which a draught of pure wine imparts to the cheek of the drinker in verses equal to these: —

"The wine has colored his cheeks like a rising sun shining upon his face: the west is his mouth, and the east is the lively cup-bearer's hand.
When the sun has set behind his mouth, it leaves upon his cheeks a rosy twilight."

Of love.

In praise of love, the flowers are pressed into the service: —

"The gardens shine with anemones, and the light fresh gales are perfumed with their scent.
When I visited them, the clouds had just been beating the flowers, and making them as deeply tinged as the best wine.
What is their crime, said I; and I was told in answer, they stole from the cheeks of the fair their beauty."

Of wine.

Ibnu-l-Faraj writes to a friend for a gift of some old wine, and his letter is in verse: —

"Send me some of that wine, sweet as thy love and more transparent than the tears which fall down thy cheeks. Send me, O my son! some of that liquor, the soul's own sister, that I may comfort my debilitated stomach."

An amusing anti-climax.

[1] Al Makkari, I. 39.

The love of local homes is constantly set forth in poetic hyberbole. Cordova, Seville, Granada, Toledo, Cadiz, is each in turn the fairest and dearest spot on earth; each a miracle of nature and art. I select in illustration a few lines of Abú-l-hasán Ibn Nasr, a poet of Granada in the twelfth century, in praise of Guadix and its river: —

Of home.

"O Wádin-l-eshit! my soul falls into ecstasies whenever I think of the favors the Almighty has lavished upon thee.

"By Allah, thy shade at noon, when the rays of the sun are the hottest, is so fresh that those who walk on thy banks cannot stop to converse together.

"The sun itself, seeking a remedy for its own ardor, directs its course through thy shadowy bed.

"Thy current smiles through the prismatic bubbles of the waters like the skin of a variegated snake. The trees that hang over thy soft inclined banks are so many steps to descend to thy bed, while their boughs covered with blossoms, and devoured by burning thirst, are perpetually drinking of thy waters."

The story is told of an African poet, Bekr Ibn Hamad El Taharti, that when the Sultán Ibrahim had shut himself up in his seraglio, in luxurious ease, with his female slaves, and forbidden any one to approach him, the poet having a petition to present wrote on the flowers which were to be taken in, the following verses: —

"The fair, the enchanting fair!
Who, even though slaves,
Do rule their Lord, and render him their slave;
They work the bane of man; seek we for roses
When neither fields nor gardens furnish them?
The lovely flower! on their bright cheeks we find them,
Sweeter and thornless too. This then, my plaint,

> Being on roses written, I do look
> To have received with favor since 't is formed
> Of that which is the image of their cheeks, —
> The fair, the enchanting fair!"[1]

The poet's supplication was granted, and he received an additional bounty of one hundred dinars.

It would exhaust the reader's patience, without, as these specimens will suffice to show, affording a compensating instruction, were I to offer numerous extracts, which, after all, can give no fair notion of Arabian poetry. Whatever estimate we may now form of its taste and power, its influence upon the people who heard the verses chanted can hardly be exaggerated. When a popular poet appeared, and intoned his love-songs to the multitude, it was a common saying that "all men's ears grew to his tunes, as if they had eaten ballads."

As might be expected, in the long period of the Arabian dominion in Spain, there were great changes in the spirit and language of their poetry, which in a more extended inquiry would claim some detail of illustration; but what they called poetic progress was not improvement. At first their utterances were simple and natural: they attempted in their new and beautiful seats to photograph what they saw, and just as they saw it; afterwards their descriptions became turgid and cloying, and created a false taste among the hearers; they resorted to stratagems to excite a satiated fancy; and the attempts of women in verse still further lowered the

The earlier poetry the best.

[1] Version from English translation of Condé.

poetic standard. Many of these women became famous: they were representatives of all social classes, — nobles, freed slaves, wives and concubines, Christians and Jewesses.[1]

I must not leave this subject without calling attention to the singular and potent influence which Arabian poetry exercised over the literature of southern and western Europe. It can be traced in the reproduction of many of the stories as well as in the structure of the French *fabliaux* and *chansons de geste* of the *jongleurs* and *trouvères* of the North; and is more particularly to be observed in *le gai saber* of the Provençal *troubadours.* It extended into Italy, and is found in the charming stanzas of Ariosto, both as to matter and manner, and in the "twice-told tales" of Boccaccio's Decameron. In a word, the entire southern literature of Europe, up to the Renaissance, owes as much to the Spanish Arabians for matter and form as it does to the Latin for language.[2] And more than this, when we remember that our English Chaucer borrowed the scheme

Influence on European literature.

[1] Al Makkari, I. 166. The names and writings of some of these poetesses are given.

[2] Fauriel, in speaking of the legend of Raimond of Bosquet, says: "I do not hesitate to cite this fiction as a new proof of the influence which the Andalusian Arabs exercised directly or indirectly on the imagination of the French." — *Histoire de la Poésie Provençale,* ch. xiii.

Sismondi (Histoire de la Littérature du Midi, etc.), uses these words: "Les récits eux-mêmes ont pénétré dans notre poésie longtemps avant la traduction des 'Mille et une Nuits.' On en retrouve plusieurs dans nos vieux fabliaux, dans Boccace, dans l'Arioste . . . et se trouvent liés à présent a tous les souvenirs, et à toutes les jouissances des habitants de la moitié du globe."

of his Canterbury Tales, and several of the stories from Boccaccio, we may well claim that the Arabian idea has penetrated into the North, and left its profound impression in the plastic English literature of the fourteenth century.[1]

Closely connected with their taste in poetry and their use of it was their fondness for story-telling, which marks the social life of the oriental people. With them it took the place of theatrical representations; from the *munshid,* or poet who recited his compositions at the courts of princes, to the humble *improvisatore,* who gathered his little crowd around him, and satisfied their wonder with his grotesque legends of genii and the supernatural.

Story-telling.

The men frequented the bazaars to hear such tales; the women gathered at the baths to exchange or repeat them, and there were improvisatrices of the seraglio. "Physicians often ordered story-telling as a prescription for their patients, to mitigate their sufferings, to calm their agitation, to give sleep after protracted *insomnia,* and these *raconteurs,* accustomed to deal with sickness, knew how to modulate their voices, to soften the tone, and to give way by still gentler utterances to the approach of sleep."[2] This kind of eloquence with them was classed as "lawful magic," and was not considered beneath the cultivation of men who prided themselves upon their literary eminence. They boasted of the number of

[1] Not to mention others, the "Knight's Tale," and the "Troilus" are versions of the "Theseida" and "Filostrato" of Boccaccio.

[2] Sismondi, Histoire de la Littérature, etc.

entertaining tales they had learned or invented, and the ready language and dramatic skill they displayed in telling them. Such men were eagerly sought out by the Khalifs and the grandees to beguile their *ennui*, or to recreate them after their fatigues. Such is the simple philosophy of the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," stories about stories, told by all sorts of people to Haroun Al Raschid and his vizier, who wandered in disguise to find them. The traveller in the East to-day may find the original type little changed, except in the necessary accompaniments of coffee and tobacco, which seem so very oriental that we can scarcely believe that the former was not used till the sixteenth, nor the latter till the seventeenth century.

Memory.

Naturally gifted with memory, of which Al Makkari says: "Memory is among the gifts which the Almighty poured most profusely upon the Andalusians," these story-tellers did not rely implicitly upon it; they not only heightened the interest of their stories by mimetic and histrionic effects; but they often improvised, while in the very fervor of narration, charming plots of episodical adventure, like those in the "Thousand and one Nights." Once improvised, they became part of the chanter's future stores, a broader foundation for new successes. These were sometimes collected into volumes, and one of these Andalusian collections would, if we may accept the eulogium of bibliographers, were it translated, divide our interest with the "Arabian Nights." Its author was a very facetious man who knew by heart a prodigious number of stories, and gave them to the

Spanish Arabs as "The Book of Routes and Stations in the Adventures of Abu-l-halyi."[1] They had one great advantage to which I have already referred; they were not limited to the truth, but would have been tame had they not been full of hyperbole in their descriptions.

Music.

Their musical powers are vaunted by the historian, but little is known of their attainments in this art. They sang to the lute (el-'ood), as the modern Spaniards do to the guitar, with the same gesticulation, using the instrument as a fan, and as if it were alive, and joining the ballad with personal movements, — *se cantan bailando;*[1] sometimes executing a *pas seul* to the rhythm they were producing, and subsiding again into a state of quiescence.

We pass to a more serious topic.

[1] Al Makkari, I. 143. Abu-l-halyi died in 1015.

[2] Ford's Handbook, I. 139.

CHAPTER II.

METAPHYSICS, HISTORY, AND EXACT SCIENCE.

IT would be of great interest to consider at length the achievements of the Spanish Arabs in the domain of psychology, and materials are not wanting for a thorough investigation of this subject; but the scope of this work will not permit me to do more than indicate to the reader the great names which have adorned this department of human science, and to give a bare statement of the conclusions or theories which they propounded.

Arabian metaphysics.

As in other branches of learning, the Arabians began by accepting the tenets or *proposita* of the Greek philosophy, so that Arabian psychology has been justly called an advanced chapter in the modern progress of Aristotelianism. It was this, but not this only. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, armed with the philosophy of Aristotle, they endeavored, if I may so speak, to cultivate originality: but in this endeavor the Semitic mind was too quiet and receptive to accomplish much; most of them could only borrow from others, and closely imitate;[1] a few

[1] "La philosophie, chez les Sémites, n'a jamais été qu'un emprunt purement extérieur et sans grande fécondité ; une imitation de la philosophie grecque." — E. RÉNAN, *Averroes el Averroisme*, Préface, viii.

of their philosophers, however, accomplished something more. As we have seen, the tenth century in Spain was the golden age of letters, but it was not the halcyon day of philosophy. Whatever fell under the suspicion of invalidating the Korán, in any degree or manner, was placed under the ban of the orthodox government; and thus metaphysics could only enjoy favor and receive incitements at spasmodic intervals, when orthodoxy seemed to sleep. Cordova was sacked, and large numbers of books were destroyed, in the eleventh century. What at first, however, seemed fatal to the philosophers of Spain was providentially advantageous: they were driven away from their inhospitable homes, but carried their doctrines with them to larger fields and more eager and scholarly hearers. "Avempace, Abubacer, and Averroes are," says Rénan, "of no renown in Islamism:" their real fame is due to the acceptance of their doctrines by Christian Europe.[1]

Avicenna.

First among the "giants of those days," but belonging to the Eastern school, was Avicenna (Ibn Sina), who was born in the district of Bokhara about the year 980. Much more famous as a physician than as a metaphysician, he had read the philosophy of Aristotle forty times before he was seventeen years old, and before he received any light to guide him in understanding it. This light came at last from the little commentary of Alfarabius; and his joy was so great for this boon that he made a special thanksgiving to God, and bestowed alms upon the poor. He was the first to enunciate to the Mos-

[1] Averroes et l'Averroisme, 37.

lem world that the subjects of human knowledge (*intelligibilia*) are to be regarded,—*metaphysically*, in themselves; *physically*, as embodied in sense; *logically*, as expressing the process of thought; and that the active intellect is the universal establisher of forms in the world — (*Intellectus in formis agit universitatem*). God is the moral governor, and theology — the Korán — is a corollary from belief in God; but "God, being absolute unity, cannot have *immediate* action upon the world."[1]

Al-Ghazali.

The next name claiming mention is that of Al-Ghazali, who was born in 1058, and who appeared very early in life among the ardent students of philosophy. At the age of thirty-three, he became a professor of metaphysics at Baghdad, where, by his enthusiasm and eloquence, he attracted large crowds to hear him, among whom were the most distinguished men. Disturbed in his own mind by the fierce conflict between creed and science, and under the pretext of making the pilgrimage to Mecca, he visited the principal cities, lecturing to interested audiences at Damascus, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. The chief conflict was in his own soul. Sensation and perception were uncertain, reason could not be depended on, and so he fell back upon a destructive dilemma. The intellectual system of Aristotle, which had been accepted by the Arabian philosophers, he attacked in a work since famous, entitled "Destructio Philosophorum," aimed especially against the teach-

His doctrine of "divine assistance" or "occasional causes."

[1] In Avicenna, according to Rénan, is found the most complete expression of Arabian philosophy. — *Averroès et l'Averroisme*, p. 95.

ings of Avicenna. He denied what we call *causality,* but admitted the reality of causation, and asserted that "God is the only efficient cause in nature, and that second causes are not properly causes, but only occasions, of the effect."[1] Thus he is considered as having first propounded the doctrine of "divine assistance or of occasional causes," which made its way afterwards into the schools of the west. His fame was so great that he was called "the Imaum of the world." In the opinion of the historian, his fame is eclipsed by the renown, as his opinions were successfully attacked by the philosopher now to be mentioned.

Averroes.

Like the other sciences, metaphysics had received its first culture in Arabian schools at the East; but the great names thus mentioned produced at once an enthusiastic spirit of inquiry in the western khalifate; and this brings us to the consideration of a writer, who stands *facile princeps* as a metaphysician of his own time, and as the founder of a school in Christian Europe which advocated and mutilated his doctrines long after he had passed away. I speak of the honored name of Averroes. He was a Spanish Arab, and with him Arabian metaphysics reached its culminating point. This man of many characters and many vocations was born at Cordova in the year 1126; and when he died at Morocco in 1198, Arabian philosophy lost its last and greatest representative, and the triumph of the Korán over

[1] Sir William Hamilton, Lectures on Metaphysics, Lect. XXXIX.

free thought was assured for at least six hundred years.[1]

His philosophy.

The political reaction upon this "free thought" was vexing and discouraging: Averroes lived in the dark days just after the fall of the Ommeyan dynasty; a period which was succeeded by the tumult of petty kings, in constant strife, until there was a temporary consolidation of power in the hands of the Almoravides. His full name was Abú-l-walid Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed *Ibn Roschd.* The latter part of this name, or patronymic, has been corrupted in Spanish into Averroes.[2] He studied theology (according to the doctrines of the Malekites), logic, medicine, jurisprudence, and philosophy; and became early known as a distinguished canonist. He turned his attention to education, and first gave instruction by lectures in the schools attached to the mosques: he was sent to Morocco, where he aided in founding colleges. He devoted himself to astronomy, and wrote a work suggested by the Almagest, which was entitled "De Substantia Orbis," or "De Compositione Corporis Cœlestis." He made also an abridgment of the Almagest. Averroes was the instructor of kings; but his so-called heresies were too daring to be protected even by royal authority: he denounced a prophecy which had gained large credit,

His so-called heresy.

[1] "Quand Averroes mourut en 1198, la philosophie arabe perdit en lui son dernier représentant et le triomphe du Coran sur la libre pensée fut assuré pour au moins six cents ans." — RÉNAN, *Averroes,* etc., 2.

[2] It appears also as *Aben Rassad, Ben Rout,* and *Aben Roes.*

that a hurricane would come at a specified time and destroy the human race; and when it was called to his attention that there was in the Korán the record of such a tempest which destroyed the rebellious tribe of Ad,[1] he declared that to be also a fable. Quoting in one of his commentaries from a classic author the words, "The planet Venus is a divinity," his enemies took them as an extract from his work, and showed them to Al-mansur, who was made thus to believe the philosopher a polytheist.[2] The result was that he was banished, and orders were given in the provinces of the empire to burn his writings, except those on medicine, arithmetic, and elementary astronomy, — "as far as those were necessary to know how to calculate the length of days and nights and to determine the direction of the *Kiblah*." It seemed that he had fallen a victim to his learning and wisdom; but his fame had become so great that he was soon restored to favor. He asserted the eternal and universal nature of true intellectual life, and with his fellow-workers, especially Avicenna, set forth that doctrine of *emanation*, the master principle of his school; a theory of cosmogony, according to which the matter and form of the world spring from God, and flow out of Him: this theory is in some respects the equivalent or at least the half-thought of pantheism.[3] It was a vigorous resistance against the cast-iron system of Moslem

"Emanation" develops into Pantheism.

[1] Korán, ch. vii., xxiii. Allusions are made to this destruction in other chapters.

[2] Rénan, Averroes et l'Averroisme, p. 22.

[3] Lecky (Rationalism in Europe, II. 284) refers to the influence

theology; it still sought, but sought in vain, to keep creed and science apart; it could do no more than put a fortress round the Deity, and while it conceded that intelligence asserts itself from the opposite direction, it claimed that in all things God is the only real agent, whether he uses a medium or acts immediately, — "Est Deus gloriosus mediantibus angelis, aut immediate."

Averroes died in 1198, not long after his restoration to favor, and was buried at Morocco; but his countrymen petitioned to have his remains, which were removed and reburied at Cordova. His tenets, however, did not die with him. Adopted by the Jews, who made Hebrew translations of his works; rendered into Latin by the schoolmen, who fought vigorously over his doctrines; studied in the University of Paris, and declared to be the representative of scepticism, — Averroism found its more abiding home in the school of Padua, where it had the honor of being denounced by Petrarch; and at last it took its place in the history among systems which have played their part, and are now, in form at least, things of the past. He was the first of the Arabian philosophers to deny that virtue is only a means of arriving at happiness, — a common and selfish view, which seems the practical basis of many popular religions.[1]

I can only refer very briefly to the distinguished

of "those pantheistic speculations about the all-pervasive soul of the Universe" upon "some of the most eminent Christian writings long after the dawn of the Reformation."

[1] I quote his words from Rénan ("Averroes," etc., p. 156): "Parmi les fictions dangereuses, il faut compter celles qui tendent à ne faire envisager la vertu que comme un moyen d'arriver au bon-

name of Ibn Bâdja, known to the Western world as Avempace, who was born at Saragossa in the year 1138. His views, which were something more than a modification of existing systems, are to be found in his "Republic of the Solitary" (*Régime du Solitaire*). The Solitary is the philosopher who would seek to rise above his mere animal nature, his σῶμα ψυχικόν, and above surrounding nature, to the realms of pure intellectuality. Thus intellect gains a certain supremacy in a philosophical heaven, where it, in the person of the Deity, controls everything. Among the critical treatises of Averroes is one on Avempace's letter concerning the union of the intellect with man,[1] which accepted much, but also questioned much, in that work.

Avempace.

The intimate association between the Arabians and the Jews gave rise to many speculations of the latter upon philosophical questions. Among these the most famous thinker was Moses Maimonides (Ben Maimon), who was the immediate continuator of the philosophy of Averroes. He was born in Cordova, in 1135, of a distinguished family, and was an adept in many sciences. He wrote upon many subjects, and his works were greatly esteemed; but, when he entered upon metaphysical speculations, partly for his opinions and partly because he was a

Moses Maimonides.

heur. Dès lors la vertu n'est plus rien, puisqu'on ne s'abstient de la volupté que dans l'espoir d'en être dédommagé avec usure. Le brave n'ira chercher la mort que pour éviter un plus grand mal. Le juste ne respectera le bien d'autrui que pour acquérir le double." The reader will find a complete list of the works of Averroes in Rénan, p. 65 et seq.

[1] Rénan, Averroes et l'Averroisme, p. 67.

Jew, he fell under the ban of intolerant orthodoxy and was accused of making his brethren atheists. He fled to northern Africa, and died at Cairo, in 1204. His real opinions were vindicated by his gifted son, Abraham Ben Moses.

In this brief and somewhat desultory reference to Arabian philosophy, I have been obliged to omit many names, which in a larger treatment would find honorable place. Here, as in presenting the other elements of Moslem culture, I have only space to indicate to the reader men and opinions whose systems demand careful study by all those who are interested in the important but perplexing study of psychology.

Under the head of History we enter upon the most important and voluminous labors of the Spanish Arabians. It was almost entirely chronicle history. Indeed, with their essential doctrine of fatalism, there was little place for philosophy. All things moved in an iron-bound order. And the chronicle was concerned about the deeds of Khalifs and Amirs, and so generally abounds in fulsome eulogy.

Historical writings.

But they were industrious in collecting facts; indeed, they were statistical before all. They enwreathed these statistics, which otherwise would have been dry detail, with allegory and imagery, and displayed great accuracy and elegance in composition. They were accomplished grammarians, and were bound to correct rules by numerous and famous treatises on grammar.

Among many elaborate historical works, we have

mention of a royal history of his times by Ibn Al-aftlas, king of Badajos, which has not survived the civil wars of the eleventh century and later times.

Al Krazráji of Cordova wrote "The Book of Sufficiency on the History of the Khalifs," beginning with the establishment of the Khalifate, and ending with the reign of Abdu-l-múmen, the first of the Almohades. This is a general history, giving both the events in the East and those in Spain.

Not to dwell upon works which are of little interest to the general scholar, as they have not been translated, I must mention one of these reproductions of the past by Ibnu Hayyán, of Cordova, which has been more particularly consulted by Arabic scholars, and is frequently referred to in these pages. It is in sixty volumes, and bears the appropriate title, *Kitábu-l-matin* (the "Book of Solidity"). This, with another work by the same author, called *Kitábu-l-muktabis* (the "Book of those desirous of Information"), gives to the reader the details of historical events which occurred in the author's time, and of some of which he was an eye-witness. Another work is named "The Embroidery of the Bride on the History of the Khalifs who reigned in Andalus;" and there is a supplement, entitled "The Book of the Sphere," divided into two parts, — one entitled "The Light of the Rising Sun on the Beauties of the East," and the other, "The Eloquent Speaker on the Beauties of the West."

The Book of Solidity.

There are histories of cities, and elaborate biographies of eminent men; biographical dictionaries

like that of Abú-l-kásim Ibn Bash Kúrvál, from the conquest to his own days. There are histories in verse, like that of Andalus, by Al Ghazzál. There is a history of horses by Abú-l-Monder of Valencia, and a Historical Dictionary of the Sciences by Mohammed-Abu-Abdillah, of Granada.

Local and special histories.

A few of these works are still within the reach of Arabic scholars; but this is not the place for a bibliographical list. Most of them are beyond our reach and use, both on account of the language in which they are still concealed from the general reader, and the rareness of the copies; and because of the almost impossibility of consulting with any degree of system those which are in the library of the Escurial. There are in that gloomy retreat six thousand Arabic manuscripts lying boxed in the basement, which are not generally, if ever, consulted.[1] These form but a small portion of those treasures, thousands of which were destroyed by an accidental fire in the Escurial in 1671, constituting three-fourths of the entire collection.

The task of cataloguing the remainder was assigned to a learned Syrian, Miguel Casiri, a Maronite of Mount Lebanon, in the middle of the eighteenth century, who was industrious and devoted, but whose work, by reason of his nationality, contains many errors. It is entitled "Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis," and is the foundation

The work of Miguel Casiri.

[1] Cardinal Ximenes thought to do the church good service by destroying eighty thousand Arabic MSS. at a literary *auto da fé* in the public squares of Granada, in the year 1500. He made some amends by founding the University of Alcalá.

of the "Historia Critica" of Masden, the first really critical history of Spain. The number of works catalogued was eighteen hundred and fifty, and the task was accomplished between 1760 and 1770.

I may be permitted to say, after reading the experience of Don Pascual de Gayangos, of obstacles and cold treatment which he met from the Spanish authorities in his attempts to consult these works,[1] that, when Spanish scholars cast off their sloth and their false pride of blood; when they are ready to do simple justice to the Arab-Moors, whom they have tried in vain to ignore, — such books as these will shed rare light upon the Mohammedan dominion, and give the historian of the Conquest what thus far he has not had, — adequate materials with which to work.

In considering the knowledge, and the extension of that knowledge, which the Arab-Moors contributed to exact science we must go back to the East to find those numeral symbols, called Arabic, which we use in Arithmetic, the simple but magical *open sesame* to the treasure-house of calculation. Simple as these figures are, and easy as it may now seem to have invented them, they are not of Arabian invention, nor did the Arabians claim that they were. They are of Hindu device, and were thus called *Mash'heb Sind Hind* (the school

Arithmetic and mathematics.

[1] He petitioned the government for permission to visit the collection in the Escurial; "but," he says, "notwithstanding repeated applications on my part, and the interference of persons high both in rank and influence; notwithstanding the utility, not to say necessity, of the work I contemplated, — my request was, as often as made, positively denied." — *Translator's Preface to Al Makkari*, I. xix.

of Sind Hind). They were probably brought from India to Baghdad, among the spoils of conquest, in the days of Al-mansur or Haroun Al Raschid.[1] The Arabians may have improved; they certainly named them, and at once employed them in new calculations. To them we owe our name for the *cipher*, that potent genius of the decimal system, — that nothing which disproves the rule, *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* They called it *Tsaphara*, the *blank* or *void.*

Woepcke proposes two sources for these figures as used in Maghreb and Spain, — the *Gobar*, or "dust" introduced to the West before the coming of the Arabs, by the neo-Pythagoreans and Boethius;[2] and the other brought to the Khalif Al-mamún of Baghdad in the ninth century, and soon afterwards into Spain. The former vehicle is very doubtful; for, though some of the initiated might have heard of them, there is no record of their use by the Arabs on their arrival in Spain. Both systems, however, seem to have been of Indian origin.

The Arabian numerals.

"It would be curious," says Max Müller, "to find out at what time the *naught* occurs for the first time in the Indian inscriptions: . . . from it would date in reality the beginning of true mathematical science, — impossible without the naught, — nay, the beginning of all exact sciences, to which we owe the discovery

[1] Their Indian origin is doubted by Sedillot (Des Connaissances Scientifiques des Orientaux), — quoted by Hoefer, Histoire des Mathématiques, pp. 304, 305. Paris, 1874.

[2] In the ingenious article on "Our Figures," in the second volume of Max Müller's "Chips from a German Work-shop," the reader is referred to Woepcke's "Mémoire sur la Propagation des Chiffres Indiens," in the "Journal Asiatique."

of telescopes, steam-engines and electric telegraphs." The mode of forming the numerals is very simple; and one is inclined, by finding them among the Arabesques in the Alhambra, constructed in circles, by using diameters and chords, to believe that such was their original construction. What an immense improvement in calculation they introduced may be seen by comparing their decimal system with the cumbrous sexagesimal arithmetic of the Greeks,[1] the mode of computing by sixties; or with the Roman system of numeral letters.

The Arabic figures were introduced into Spain about the beginning of the ninth century. It has been asserted—and the assertion, if not exact, is significant — that Pope Sylvester II., who was the first to present a knowledge of these symbols to Christian Europe in the same century, had learned them while studying, as the priest Gerbert, among many other Christian students, at the University of Cordova.[2] When we remember that these Arabic numerals from 1 to 10, including the *naught*, were not in general use in Germany until the beginning of the fifteenth century, nor in England until some time later, we are ready to give most thankful praise to those to whom Europe owes so magnificent a boon.

When introduced into Europe.

[1] They formed their system by dividing the circle into three hundred and sixty degrees; each side of the inscribed hexagon subtended an arc of 60°, each degree contained 60′, and each minute 60″. They applied this also to rectilinear measurements.

[2] Sylvester composed works on arithmetic and geometry, and made some mathematical instruments with his own hand. It was chiefly due to his new arithmetic that he was considered by many as a necromancer. He died in 1003.

Their introduction was the starting-point of a new progress; by their use the Arabians led the world in mathematics, analytical mechanics, and astronomy.

Algebra.

To algebra, the science of numbers and quantity, they gave its modern name, from *'jabara, to bind* parts together. Of its antiquity they had no knowledge, although one of their writers ascribes a treatise on the science to Adam. The unknown quantity x they called *s'ái,* the *thing* (to be discovered); and this name has been adopted by the Italians, who call it *scienza della cosa,* — translated by the earlier French authors into *L'art de coss.* As far as we know the Arabians derived their knowledge from the Greeks; and there is in the Bodleian library at Oxford a manuscript copy of a treatise on Algebra by Mohammed Ibn Musa, of the ninth century.[1]

Tartaglia and Cardana.

Diophantus, the Alexandrian, had written upon algebra in the sixth century; and, although the *scienza della cosa,* was a favorite study with the Italians, little was known of it by general scholars, until the famous tournament and bitter quarrel between their champion Tartaglia and Cardan. This grew out of the enthusiasm of Scipion Ferro (1490–1525) and Antonio Fiore; the latter of whom, while the Arabians were engaged in the same inquiries, had found the methods for solving equations of the third degree. Fiore challenged Tartaglia to a general mathematical tournament, in 1535, and propounded

[1] Hoefer, Histoire des Mathématiques, pp. 296, 297. The work was written during the reign of the Khalif Al-mámún, but the copy referred to bears date of 1342. The Arabians also presented the word *gidr,* which has been adopted in all languages, — *root, racine, wurzel,* etc.

thirty questions on cubic equations. These Tartaglia immediately answered; and Cardan, himself an Italian, but whose residence in France and England has given a French form to his name, wrote to the successful champion for his methods, with the promise of secrecy. Tartaglia was very reluctant to impart his knowledge, but eventually did so, requiring Cardan to swear on the Holy Evangelists and his honor as a gentleman, that he would not disclose them;[1] and that he would commit them to cipher, so that they might not be read after his death. By developing and modifying them, Cardan seemed to think himself absolved from his oath, and he published them to the world, greatly to the anger of Tartaglia, in his "Ars Magna," in 1545.

In the mean time, and quite outside of this European quarrel, the Arabians were at work on the science. They were also solving cubic equations, and Thebit Ibn Korrah, who died in the year 900, has the great credit of having first applied Algebra to Geometry,[2] and thus laid the foundations of Analytical Geometry.

Thebit Ibn Korrah.

Geometry, the science of measurements, they found already in an advanced stage of cultivation. From the earliest time, when men began to measure the surface of the earth and the contents of bodies, on

[1] Tartaglia made a poetic summary of his method, of which the following are the closing lines:—

> "El residuo poi tuo generale
> Delli lor lati cubi ben soltrato
> Verra la tua cosa principale."

See Hoefer, Histoire des Mathématiques, p. 344.

[2] Hoefer, Histoire des Mathématiques, p. 297.

the principle of personal possession and self-interest, geometry was a practical art; and thus the inventions of Pythagoras and the system of Euclid, the latter being still used in academies and colleges, must find their origin in an earlier period. In a Chinese work of mathematical detail, we are presented with a dialogue between the Emperor Tchan-kong, who lived about eleven hundred years before Christ, — if we may credit their chronology,— and a learned man of the time named Schang-kaow. If, says the philosopher, we analyze a right angle, the line which joins the extremities of the base and altitude is equal to *five*, when the one equals *three* and the other *four*. The square of five is equal to the sum of the squares of *three* and *four*. And thus the little mandarins puzzled over the proposition which we know as the 47th of Euclid, nearly six hundred years before Pythagoras is said to have enunciated it, and eight hundred before it found its place in the system of Euclid. This may be the boast of a "celestial" fancy; but there can be no doubt that the Arabians received geometry in a very advanced condition, and presented to the western world, in translation from the Greek, the treatises of Euclid on the properties of plane figures, on the theory of ratios, and on the elements of solid figures. If they added little that was new, they collected and annotated all that was known. The works of Euclid, let it be remembered, were not translated into the modern languages of Europe until the sixteenth century, after the influx of Greek learning, incident to the fall of Constantinople. The first Latin dress in which they appeared

Chinese claims.

in the West was in a translation made by Adelard, of Bath, from an Arabic version which he found in common use in Spain in the twelfth century. So, too, the famous work of Appolonius of Perga, — "the great geometer," on conic sections, written in the early part of the third century of our era, was translated by the Arabians, and thus presented to the west. To be more exact, there were eight books; the first seven were translated into Arabic; the first four were afterwards recovered in the Greek; the eighth is lost.[1]

Adelard's translation of Euclid.

Towards the end of the ninth century, Ibn Musa Ibn Geber Al Bataní greatly facilitated the applications of trigonometry by the use of the sine, or half-chord of the double arc, instead of the arc itself. It was immediately applied in geodetical and astronomical calculations.[2] And Abu-l-Wefah presented to the world the formulæ of tangents and cotangents, and also of secants and co-secants, and made tables of the former set, of all which the scientific historian says, "Personne n'avait encore parlé." [3]

The introduction of the sine.

[1] Michel Chasles, Aperçu Historique des Méthodes en Géométrie, p. 21. Paris, 1875.

[2] The words of Al Bataní, as given by Delambre (Histoire de l'Astronomie du Moyen Age), are: "C'est de ces demichordes, que nous entendons nous servir dans nos calculs, où il est bien inutile de doubler les arcs." — pp. 11, 12.

[3] M. Michel Chasles, speaking of the great change which had come over them since they burned the Alexandrian Library, says: "Cependant, ces mêmes Arabes, après un ou deux siècles, reconnurent leur ignorance, et entreprirent eux-mêmes la restauration des sciences. Ce sont eux qui nous transmirent soit le texte, soit la traduction dans leur langue, — les manuscrits qui avaient échappé à leur fureur fanatique. Mais c'est là à peu près la seule

These improvements found their way into Spain, and from Spain passed into Italy, the growing centre of a commerce and an extending navigation, which were ready to subsidize all mathematical learning.

Thus it would seem that, in the palmy days of the Arabian dominion in Spain, the young student in their colleges had almost as complete a course in elementary mathematics as is taught in our colleges to-day.

If we pass from pure mathematics to astronomy, we shall find the Arabians industriously studying and systematizing what was known before, and adding greatly to the former knowledge by observation and computation. They used the Egyptian calendar of days in the year, and the tables of the Greeks; they translated the works of Ptolemy, containing his digest of ancient astronomy, his theory of the planetary system, the moon's evection, — an inequality depending upon the position of the sun with reference to the major axis of the moon's orbit, — and his treatise on the phenomena of the fixed stars. His great work, which he called *Μεγάλη Σύνταξις τῆς Ἀστρονομίας* (the great syntaxis) they called *μεγίστη* (the greatest), to distinguish it from his other works; and it has become, with the article prefixed, the *Al-magest*. Great observatories were erected in the eastern cities, and at Seville and Cor-

Al-magest.

obligation que nous leur ayons. Car la géométrie entre leurs mains, à l'exception toutefois du calcul des triangles sphériques resta stationaire entre leurs mains; leurs travaux se bornant à admirer et à commenter les ouvrages grecs; comme s'ils marquaient le terme le plus élevé et le plus sublime de cette science." — *Aperçu Historique*, p. 50. I find the praise rather scanty, after even a cursory examination of their labors.

dova, always emulous of Baghdad. They computed time by the oscillations of the pendulum; they took the altitudes of the heavenly bodies by means of the astrolabe, — a circular plate with a graduated rim, within which fit several thinner plates, and a limb moving on a central pivot with two sights. They used armillary spheres, made not with a spherical, continuous surface, but with rings. Thus they calculated the conditions of Aldebaran, Rigel Algol, and other stars. There are in our lists four hundred stars with Arabic names. To them we owe our common word, *azimuth,* — the arc of the horizon included between the meridian and a vertical circle passing through the centre of a star. The point where a normal to the surface pierces upper space, they called *semt,* a place, whence we have our *zenith;* the similar point beneath was *nadir* (the opposite.)[1] To the Spanish Arabs we owe the name and form of the calendar which we call *Almanac* (*manáh,* measure).

Instruments.

According to Al Kazwíní, they not only knew the spheroidal *form* of the earth, but approximately its diameter and circumference, computed from eclipses of the moon.[2] The inclination of the ecliptic was computed by Geber Al Bataní following the Greek method. By means of a colossal gnomon, he measured the length of the shadow, at the summer and at the winter solstice, the angular difference being twice the quantity sought.

The Arabians knew that the earth was a spheroid.

[1] Montucla, Histoire des Mathématiques, vol. I. p. 371. Paris. An. viii.

[2] Lane, Arabian Nights, note 2 to the Introduction.

This was done, both at Damascus and at Baghdad, during the reign of Al-mamún. At the former place it was made 23° 33′, and at the latter 23° 33′ 52″. Our methods make it at that time 23° 35′ 56″.[1]

To them is due the discovery of the motion of the sun's apogee; and that of the third inequality of the moon is ascribed by Sedillot to Abu-l-Wefah, but this is doubted by Biot.

Mention has already been made of the measurement of a degree of latitude on the earth's surface in the ninth century. To go a little more into detail: On an extended plain in Mesopotamia, called *Singiar*, two parties were organized, of which, starting from the same point, one moved north and the other south, and each measured a degree. Their unit of measure was the cubit, of the exact length of which we are not certain. Suffice it to say that, while modern science has fixed the degree at about sixty-nine and a half statute miles for that locality, they made it nearly seventy-seven.[2]

They measure a degree of latitude.

Az-zharkal, a famous Spanish astronomer of the twelfth century, proposed an hypothesis to account for the diminution of the sun's eccentricity since the days of Ptolemy;[3] and Alfonso X. (el sabio), whose astronomical tables — known as the *Alphonsine tables* — were of great value, composed them, with the assistance of Arabian astronomers. He was indeed *wise* in his own conceit; for he said, "that, if God had

[1] Moedler, Geschichte der Himmelskunde, p. 89. Brunswick, 1873.

[2] See Montucla, Histoire des Mathématiques, I. 358.

[3] Al Makkari, Mohammedan Dynasties, I. 383, note 18.

called him into His councils when He created the universe, things would have been in a better and simpler order."[1]

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that all their tables and computations were based upon the views of Ptolemy as to the correlations of the solar system, which used apparent instead of real motions, and which did not disappear until the time of Copernicus. The metaphysician, Averroes, wrote an abridgment of the *Al-magest,* a treatise on the motion of the celestial sphere, and announced his intention, if God should permit, to compose a work on astronomy as it was in the time of Aristotle, — "to destroy the theory of epicycles and eccentrics, and to make a harmony between the Astronomy and the Physics of Aristotle."[2]

It should not be forgotten that, from the beginning, with the progress of astronomy, or exact star-science, astrology, the science of star influences and star prophecies, kept pace in Spain, as well as in the East. Dividing magic, or the supernatural, into spiritual and natural, they made astrology a branch of the latter. Thus, to give a striking illustration, they arranged marriage by these star predictions. They not only calculated the character and conditions of each of the parties by the signs of the zodiac, but the effect to be produced by their combination on their future lives. The twelve signs corresponded to the elements of fire, earth, air, water, etc.: and if for the man and woman the signs agreed,

Astrology.

[1] Montucla, Histoire des Mathématiques, I. 511.

[2] Rénan's Averroes et l'Averroisme, p. 76. Paris, 1867.

there would be concord; but, if the element of the woman was water, and that of the man was fire, she would put him out!—he would be subject to her rule. The Spanish Arabs seem to have been less under the sway of this natural magic than their Eastern brethren. As they lived in a credulous age, they were, however, not free from it; but always, in their superstitions even, they were groping for light, they were working for science. Thus, great Khalifs undesignedly did good service to astronomy by collecting and reproducing astronomical tables mainly designed for the purpose of astrological consultation.

Modern belief in astrology.

To a very recent period, and even among great minds, there have been honest believers in astrology. Napoleon believed in his star and in lucky days. Joseph de Maistre, a nobleman, a statesman, and a distinguished philosophic writer, declared that "divination by astrology is not an absolutely chimerical science." Such, too, was the opinion of Goethe, who begins his egotistical biography with a serious statement of the planetary influences under which he was born, and which he believed to have influenced his life.[1] But there have also been in all

[1] As illustrating this curious subject I am tempted to give the passage: "Am 28 August, 1749, Mittags mit dem Glockenschlage zwölf kam ich in Frankfort am Main auf die Welt. Die Constellation war glücklich; die Sonne stand in Zeichen der Jungfrau, und culminirte für den Tag; Jupiter und Venus blickten sie freundlich an, Mercur nicht widerwärtig; Saturn und Mars verhielten sich gleichgültig; nur der Mond, der so eben voll ward, übte die Kraft seines Gegenscheins um so mehr als zugleich seine Planetenstunde eingetreten war. Er widersetzte sich daher, meiner Geburt, die nicht eher erfolgen konnte, als bis diese vorübergegangen. Diese guten Aspecten, welche mir die Astrologen in der Folgezeit sehr hoch

times, and are at present, charlatans, who "tell fortunes," and construct schemes of nativity and prophecies of destiny, far more absurd than those of the Arabians in the middle ages. Ibnu Ghálib spoke the common belief when he attributed the lively imagination, the elegance, and the taste of the Andalusians to the influence of Venus; their judgment, intellectuality, and fondness for learning, and social economy, to that of Mercury.[1]

anzurechnen wussten, mögen die Ursache an meiner Erhaltung gewesen sein."—*Wahrheit und Dichtung; oder, Aus meinem Leben*, ch. i.

[1] Al Makkari, I. 121.

NOTE. — The best connected account of Arabian metaphysics is to be found in the work to which I have frequently referred in the foregoing sketch, — "Averroes et l'Averroisme," essai historique, par Ernest Rénan. Third edition. Paris: 1867. Important references to the subject will be found in many more general works. Among these are Hegel's "Geschichte der Philosophie," III. 110–120; Tennemann's "Geschichte," 1810, VIII. i. 362; Tiedemann's "Geist der Speculativischen Philosophie," IV. 108, *et supra;* Ueberweg's "Geschichte (*in loco*). Among English works, consult Blakey, "History of the Philosophy of Mind," I. ch. xxxii., xxxiii.

A clear, separate work in English on this subject is a great desideratum.

CHAPTER III.

GEOGRAPHY, CHEMISTRY, AND MEDICINE.

THE Arabians were also accurate and practical geographers; but upon their labors and studies in this department of knowledge it is not my purpose to dwell. In connection with their geographical explorations and compilations they made good use of their mathematical and astronomical knowledge. Their original momentum had made them great travellers. I need not dwell upon their vague and absurd opinions and statements in their earlier cosmography, which were sanctioned by the Korán, and which speak of seven heavens and seven earths, with their impossible supports and the Hell below.[1] Their location and collocation of the countries known at that time are marked by great ignorance; but I refer now to that new knowledge which came with their travels for conquest. Thus they explored eastern Asia and northern Africa, and soon learned, from contiguity, the true character of European geography. Their writings on this subject were commensurate with their knowledge. They constructed globes for the use of schools, and wrote text-

Geography.

[1] See note 2 to Introduction Lane's Arabian Nights, in which the Arabian system of cosmography is given at length.

books. There is one very voluminous work of Alonóbí entitled "The Book of Routes and Kingdoms," a geographical dictionary, containing the names of all the existing kingdoms and principal cities of the world. The *Mas'hab* of Al Higárí specially treats of the geography of Spain, and the topography of its chief cities. To these Ibnu Sa'id adds his own history, a history of the races of men, which contains much valuable geographical information. It was at a later day, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, that Al Hasan of Granada, known as Leo Africanus, made those remarkable travels in Africa, Turkey, Egypt, and Persia, which still astonish and instruct the modern reader.

"The geographer," by pre-eminence, is *Abu-'abdillah Edrisi* called *al Sharif*, who wrote in the latter part of the twelfth century an Arabic work, which has been translated into Spanish and annotated by Condé, — as "Descripcion de España." This book gives the best information to be obtained at that day on the subject of Spanish geography.

When we come to consider the attainments of the Arabians in the science of chemistry,[1] we must bear in mind that, as we know it to-day, chemistry is a very modern science, differing even in essential points from what it was a hundred years ago. At the home and grave of Priestley in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, the centenary of his discovery of oxygen was celebrated in 1874, and every day since marks new progress and new discoveries. But

Their attainments in chemistry.

[1] The statistics here given are chiefly derived from Prof. Thomas Thomson's History of Chemistry, 1830. Two vols.

the analytical study of elements and agents was ardently pursued by the Arabians, and to them are due many important and progressive improvements. The name *chemistry* (Al-kimiâ) is probably derived from Cham or Chemia, one of the names for Egypt, and with the Arabic prefix would mean the *Egyptian science*, from its having been eagerly studied there; but it was introduced in its most advanced state to western Europe by the Arabians, and was cultivated and taught by them in Spain. They were, like all the chemists of their day, alchemists, who were struggling to be chemists. They shared as the European chemists of a later date did, the fond hopes of those who believed in the philosopher's stone; and they gave us the name of that *elixir vitæ* (El Iksir, the breaker), which, when found, should break the powers of age and pain and death. The most renowned of the Arabian chemists, and the one who is best known to our time, was Abu Musa Ja'far As-soli of Harran, who lived in the eighth century, and who is known to us as *Geber*: his record has been somewhat confused with that of another celebrated philosopher of Seville named Geber, who flourished in the eleventh century. His original works were first translated into Latin, and have since been rendered into English.

Lapis philosophorum and *elixir vitæ.*

He gives us a clear view of the early search for the philosopher's stone. He knew the chemical affinities of gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, lead, and quicksilver; to each of which he gave or adopted the name of the planet which had a special influence over it. Thus, gold was named for the Sun, silver for the Moon,

copper for Venus, iron for Vulcan, tin for Jupiter, lead for Saturn, and quicksilver for Mercury. Their "precious influences" upon each other were similar to those exercised by the heavenly bodies upon men, which render a man *jovial*, or *saturnine*, or *mercurial* accordingly. All these metals, he says, are composed of mercury and sulphur in varying proportions; by delicately altering these, one metal may be transformed into another; the *lapis philosophorum* was such a medium of transformation, a medicine of metals, called by him the *medicine of the third class.* Geber was acquainted with the calcining and oxidizing processes, and with distillation. He knew the methods of obtaining potash and soda, and the properties of saltpetre. Nitric acid he obtained from nitrate of potassa, and called it *dissolving water.*[1]

Abdullah Ibn Sina, whose name is corrupted into *Avicenna*, already referred to as a metaphysician, has left a valuable treatise on Alchemy, divided into ten dictions: four of these he devotes to a consideration of the philosopher's stone and the *elixir vitæ*, — still in their combination the *summum bonum* for humanity. The remaining six dictions contain a more sensible investigation of the metals. But it should be observed that Avicenna was far more renowned as a mental philosopher than as a chemist.

Always connected with chemistry as a practical application of its powers are metallurgy and mining; and we know that in these departments the Spanish Arabs made great and useful progress. Spain was and

[1] From the cabalistic words used by Geber in connection with these studies we have the word *gibberish.*

is a richly metalliferous country. Her mineral treasures had been known from a remote antiquity, and the mines nearer the sea-coast had been successfully worked by her generations of conquerors, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Romans. Spain was the great metallic treasure-house of the ancient world. There were three places, according to Al Makkari,[1] from which, during the Moslem occupancy, gold was extracted in great quantities. "One was the river Darro; the other a spot on the western coast close to Lisbon and at the mouth of the Tagus, and a third in the river of Lerida, that which falls into the Ebro;" and perhaps it was a longing fancy of Ibnu Sa'id, which led him to declare that the precious metals were abundant in the north and northwest, "in those countries which were in the hands of the infidels," — the richest gold mine being in Galicia. Of the value of these, however, he could know but little.

Metallurgy and mining.

Silver lay, in large quantity and extent, in the mountains of Alhama, and in the district of Cordova. Tin abounded in Portugal, in the Pyrenees, and in France.

In Almeria were mines of lead,[2] and near Cordova was great store of quicksilver. There were also copper and iron and alum, red and yellow ochre, and tutty, which was used to color copper.

Precious stones also were in great abundance, — the beryl, ruby, golden marcasite, agates, garnets,

[1] Mohammedan Dynasties, I. 89.

[2] "In the time of Abdu-r-rahmán II., we are told, litharge was used to take away the fetid smell of armpits." — Al Makkari, *Mohammedan Dynasties*, II. 120.

and the "gilding-stone," or blood-stone, of Cordova. Pearls were found on the coast near Barcelona; and building-stones, marbles and jaspers of all colors, — spotted, red, yellow, the color of wine, as well as pure white, — were cheaply quarried in the mountains of Cordova and in the Alpuxarras. These mineral treasures, I have said, had been long known. The gold and silver of Solomon's temple came through Hiram of Tyre from Tarshish, which was southern Spain. The Phœnician traders found them so abundant that, when their ships could carry no more, they made their anchors of silver.

In the earlier times.

The Carthaginians continued the mining operations with the oriental system, working large gangs of men to death, and replacing them by new victims; and the Romans, in their long occupancy of the Peninsula, found great treasures of mineral products, which, when the Goths came, lay almost useless upon their idle and luxurious hands. And, when the more industrious Arab-Moors entered Spain, the ancient mines had been either abandoned or were most inadequately worked.

When the Moorish invasion occurred, for a time, of course, the mining, such as it was, was at an end; and little was probably done during the time of the Amírs, or until the completion of the conquest by the establishment of the independent khalifate. Then the work began; and in Murcia the shafts of the Arab-Moors may be distinguished from those of the former workers by being square instead of round. Five thousand such excavations are to be found in the district of Jaen alone.

To the great deposit of mercury, occurring both in virgin form and in an inexhaustible vein of cinnabar twenty-five feet thick, they gave the name, *Al maden del Azogue* (the mine of quicksilver). They worked it with great profit, and left it, as they found it, the largest deposit in the world: it yields now, by a recent estimate, one-half the quicksilver now in use.[1]

The general subject of mineralogy engaged their attention; and one of their philosophers, Al-Biroum, travelled, with few intervals of rest, for forty years, in the study of this branch of science, at the end of which time he published an account of his labors and discoveries.

The progress of the Arabians in medicine was limited to the diagnosis of disease and to *materia medica;* but in these they were very successful. As in art they were not permitted to depict the forms of men and animals, so they could not in pathology avail themselves of anatomy; and their surgery was therefore rude and unskilful. Dissection, the very alphabet of surgery and of physiology, was prohibited; but in iatro-chemistry and the use of simples they were sensible and practical, and their physicians became renowned throughout the world. They rose superior to their fatalism, and did their utmost to assist Providence in carrying out the immutable decrees. Their cures, Mohammed had said, were "by the order of God," as their skill and ardor were his gift; their better judgment was in conflict with their superstition.

Arabian medicine.

[1] It is now a government monopoly, producing to the revenue a million and a quarter of dollars annually.

Although they consulted the stars, and eagerly sought for the elixir of life, and other panaceas, they brought to the study of clinical medicine great interest, rare learning, and a cool head; and thus they led the world in the healing art. Spain abounds in healing plants, which they investigated botanically, and numerous natural drugs, which they used as medicaments. They paid great attention to diet; and Abú-l-Motref gave a lesson to the modern faculty by declaring "that diseases could be more effectually checked by diet than by medicine, and that, when medicine became necessary, simples were far preferable to compound medicaments; and, when these latter were required, as few drugs as possible ought to enter into their composition."[1]

In the social order the physician became a power. As the science became popular, the practitioners threw off the trammels of an earlier day; the Spanish Arabs refused obedience to the silly prohibition to dismember the human body, and the dissecting-room came, in time, to form an important part of their medical establishments. If they still adhered to the *elixir vitæ,* and other magical cures, it certainly is not our nineteenth century that should ridicule and condemn them. A stranger to the earth and its follies would characterize this age as eminently superstitious and gullible, if he should read in our newspapers columns of advertisements displaying catholicons, buttressed by the record of miraculous cures. There are thousands now who would hail, without question, the announcement of

[1] Al Makkari, I. 151.

some nostrum of which, if a man should take, he would never die. The only difference between us and them is that, while the Arabian philosophers believed in the *elixir*, the men who concoct the quack medicines of to-day are charlatans. But they succeed in misleading many who should be above their base influences.

Abu Mohammed, of Malaga, composed a valuable treatise on simples and *medicamenta*, which he arranged alphabetically, and which thus furnishes an excellent index to their general knowledge of these branches. Yahya, a wízir of Abdu-r-rahmán III., who was the son of a Christian, was an eminent physician, and composed a work on simples in five books, according to the practice of the Greek physicians.[1] Abu-l-kasim, in the twelfth century, issued a popular work or hand-book, entitled "The Substitute for those who cannot procure Works on Medicine."[2]

Simples and *medicamenta.*

But perhaps the most valuable medical works to be consulted by the student of medical history are those of Abdu-l-malek Ibn Zohr, corrupted in Christian Europe, and known thus to modern days, as Avenzoar. He was remarkable as a physician for his diagnosis; his works embrace a wide scope, and treat of many special diseases, such as various fevers, leprosy, etc., and he gives distinct medical treatment and hygienic rules for diet and conduct.[3]

[1] Al Makkari, I. 464, note 132.

[2] Ib. note 134.

[3] There are seven physicians of this name, who are sometimes confounded. See table in Al Makkari, I. 336.

I have already referred to Ibn Sina, corrupted into Avicenna, as an alchemist and a metaphysician; but he was also an eminent student of medicine from the early age of sixteen; and his work, translated into Latin, and presenting the "Canon Medicinæ," was regarded for five centuries as distinguished authority in the schools of Europe.

Avicenna.

Of Averroes (Ibn-Roschid), the great metaphysical scholar, we have numerous works on many subjects. He wrote upon philosophy, theology, jurisprudence, astronomy, grammar, and medicine. Next to philosophy, medicine received his enthusiastic attention; and the list of his medical works surprises us, by the number and curious character of the topics he considers.[1]

Averroes.

When Chaucer, writing of English practice in the fourteenth century, would make his *doctoure of phisike* learned in medical works, he gives prominence to the Arabian physicians, whose treatises, translated from Arabic into Latin, were known in every medical school and hospital in Western Europe: —

> "Well knew he the old Æsculapius,
> And Dioscorides and eke Rufus:
> . . . . .
> Serapion, Rasis, and Avicen,
> Averrois, Damascene, and Constantin." [2]

[1] The list may be found in Rénan's "Averroes et l'Averroisme," p. 76. Passing from "Generalities," he makes his comments upon the "Ardjuza," a medical poem of Avicenna. He has a treatise on diārrhœa, one on fevers, one on the causes and symptoms of diseases, on diagnosis, on simples, on therapeutics, on laxative medicines, on intermittent and putrid fevers, and numerous others.

[2] Prologue to the "Canterbury Tales."

I cannot enter more at length upon the studies of the Arabians, and their progress in general science. The subject is a large one, and of exceeding interest; for, from what has been already so briefly said, it will be seen that there were few avenues of human investigation which had not been trodden by the eager feet of their philosophers. In mental science ardent inquirers, they were also in all departments of physical science eager observers, — so devoted, indeed, that many of them, who had no reason to fear the attribution of dealing in magic, were in danger, in their application of the laws of science to the silly stories of the Korán, of being branded as *Zindik*, or heretic. The seven heavens and seven earths and seven hells melted into thin air. They laid the basis of the mechanical system of statics and dynamics, as applied to solids, liquids, and gases. They determined the weight of the air and the pressure of the atmosphere. They fixed the height of the atmosphere at fifty-eight miles and a half. It is yet undetermined, but modern science makes it about forty-five. They understood capillary attraction and the law of specific gravities. They studied the phenomena of optics, and determined many of its laws.[1] They understood the effect of refraction in producing twilight. They enounced the general law of gravitation as it concerned bodies on the earth's surface, but their application of it did not extend to the systems

In danger of being called *Zindik*.

[1] "Al Hazen published an original theory of refraction, and showed that the diameters of the sun and moon must diminish at the horizon, with the true reason." — MAEDLER, *Geschichte der Himmelskunde*, Brunswick, 1873, p. 89.

in space. The airy bonds of planets and stars remained to them a mystery; but they were a mystery to the whole world of science, until Newton discovered the law of that Being who alone can "bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion."[1] It has been said that Al Hazen anticipated Darwin, in the theory of evolution by natural selection and the survival of the fittest, as early as the eleventh century.

Optics.

In their mechanical applications of the laws of physics, they had the Roman remains to aid them, They built bridges and aqueducts and causeways upon these models.

[1] Job xxxvii. 31.

NOTE. — I cannot better close this chapter than by giving the conclusion arrived at by Maedler ("Geschichte der Himmelskunde," I. 91). After considering the progress of the Arabians in science, he says: "Das heilige Feuer der Wissenschaft war in Erlöschen begriffen: die Araber haben den schwach glimmenden Funken, treu und unverdrossen gehütet, dass er nicht ersterbe. Ihre Fürsten beschützten und pflegten die Wissenschaft, die sonst überall vernachlässigt, ja geächtet und verfolgt wurde. So haben sie sich unvergänglichen Ruhm erworben, und alle Zeiten werden es ihnen danken dass sie, und sie allein, die Rettungsbrücke bildeten, welche die alte Cultur mit der gegenwärtigen verbindet, dass sie das dem Abendlande verloren gegangene Verständniss der alten Vermittelten und es wieder erschlossen, und dass sie nicht eifersüchtig in Tempeln und verborgenen Heiligthümern sich isolirten, sondern in Zahlreichen Werken ihr Wissen und Wirken vor dem Auge der Welt niederlegte."

I am indebted for some of the illustrations, and the references to authorities on the subjects of mathematics and astronomy, to the superior knowledge and kind aid of my friends and colleagues in the Lehigh University, Professor Charles L. Doolittle, C.E., of the department of Mathematics and Astronomy, and Professor William A. Lamberton, M.A., of the department of Ancient Languages.

CHAPTER IV.

INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES.

TO the Arab-Moors belongs the glory of having brought out of the mysterious treasure-houses of the East — from India and China — many of the great inventions and discoveries which have had their full development and world-wide utility in the West. Thus that great leveller of individual distinctions and moral regenerator of the science of war, which has transformed the classic ten years' siege of a city into a modern battle of Sedan, which has liberated moral courage from the thraldom of brute force and even of manual skill, which has veiled danger in a cloud and made homicide impersonal,— Gunpowder, — was their gift to Europe.

The English may pride themselves upon the chance discovery of Friar Bacon, in the middle of the thirteenth century, of a mixture *salis petræ et sulphuris*, the result of which was *tonitrum et coruscationem, si scies artificium,* — a happy qualification. But it was not from this source that gunpowder went out to serve in the science of war. According to Loloos, who wrote in the latter part of the eighteenth century, there was a Chinese claim to this discovery three thousand years ago. We may well

Gunpowder.

consider this a Chinese boast; but Gonzales de Mendoza, in his "History of China," places it three hundred years before Christ. Amiot, a missionary to China, declares the history of its origin as two hundred years before the Christian era, and specifies the mixture, and proportions of sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal. The Arabs are said to have used it at a siege of Mecca, in the year A. D. 690. There is an Oriental manuscript, quoted by a writer in the "Journal de l'Institut Historique," in which it is declared that gunpowder came from China to Persia, and from Persia to Arabia. Thence it was brought into Spain. The Arabs called it "Indian snow," and the Persians "Chinese salt." We may grant that tubes for using it to send projectiles were slow in their development and improvement; but they, in their rude condition, were brought into Spain by the Oriental invaders. There can be no doubt it was used in machines by the Arab-Moors in their battles with the Spanish Christians as early as 1249, and afterwards by the Moorish king of Granada at the sieges of Baeza, in 1312 and 1325. Its first recorded use by Christians was at the battle of Crecy, in 1346. Muratori, in writing of its use in 1344, uses the very significant words: *Nuper rara, nunc communis.*[1] Greek fire, which contained other ingredients, and carried its ravages afar by ignition of the objects aimed at, was also "imported into Greece and the Byzantine Empire by the com-

[1] See Bardin, "Dictionnaire de l'Armée de Terre," 8 vols., Paris, *voce* Poudre à feu. The discovery might well have been by several persons in different localities; but it had been made in the East, before there was any Western civilization at all.

merce of caravans;" and won its great renown as the preserver of Constantinople, in its extreme peril when besieged by the Saracens, in the beginning of the eighth century.

Much has been said of the claimants to the glory of having invented printing by movable types, and the invention has indeed revolutionized the world; but it has not been sufficiently noticed that what retarded the printing-press, and greatly restricted its usefulness when it appeared, was the want of paper. It was not so much the stolidity of man that kept the art back so long, as the cloth, the papyrus leaf, the sheep-skin called *pergamina*, or parchment, and the calf-skin called *vellum.* And this great boon of paper came through the Arabians into Spain. The Chinese had early manufactured a paper from their universal silk: this idea was adopted by the Arabians, who are said to have made cotton paper at Mecca as early as the eighth century. The methods of manufacture they introduced into Spain. The flax of Valencia and Murcia, which was more abundant than cotton, and made a stronger paper, was substituted for it. Authorities are wanted to tell us of the paper made during the earlier occupancy; but we know that in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and probably long before that, paper-mills were numerous and lucrative in Spain, and that the paper and the invention had travelled with the other beneficent gifts of the Arabians into the North; then the printing-press came because there was good reason for its coming. "There can remain no doubt," says the accurate

Movable types.

Paper.

Hallam, "that the Saracens of the Peninsula were acquainted with that species of paper made *ex rasuris veterum pannorum*, though perhaps it was unknown in any other country."[1] These "rags of old clothes" were doubtless linen rags. This first linen paper was of so excellent a quality, that we may assert the great progress to be rather in the modes and cheapness of the manufacture, than in the excellence of the article itself. Several of the manuscripts of 1009, catalogued by Casirí, were on cotton paper, and some of 1106 on linen paper.

The magnet and the mariner's compass.

It is in part due to patriotism, often another name for national vanity, and in part to a pardonable ignorance, that the appearance of a new instrument or invention among a people is mistaken for its origin. Such has been the case with the mariner's compass, embodying the mysterious power of the magnet. The magnet has been longer known than this practical application of it.

The Chinese, who knew how to discover and hoard better than how to apply and use, claim a knowledge of the loadstone and the magnetizing of iron from a remote antiquity. The needle is claimed as the invention of the Italian Flavio Gioja in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The French contest this claim, declaring it to have been in their possession in

[1] Introduction to the Literature of Europe (Harpers, 1841, 2 vols.), I. 51. He says that down to the seventh century all instruments in France were written on papyrus. Parchment, when it took the place of this, was so expensive that the bad habit was adopted of erasing one manuscript to use the same material for another, — the palimpsest.

the preceding century. Later investigations have established proof that the Arabians, finding it in their eastern conquests among the treasures of natural magic, brought it into Spain certainly as early as the eleventh century, and used it very generally there in the twelfth. It was the building of larger ships capable of bearing ocean strains, under the impulse of an adventurous spirit in the thirteenth century, and the prosecution of more perilous voyages, that gave it its greater utility. Short voyages in the Mediterranean, from headland to headland, did not require it; and therefore the invention languished, because no imperious necessity called for its application.

In all the practical arts of general utility, the Arab-Moors were apt, skilful, and systematic. As we have seen, the knowledge, handiwork, commodities, and luxuries of the East were brought by caravans from the farther East, and came by shipping from the Levant to the Mediterranean ports of Spain. Seeds and plants were thus transported; thus came rice and cotton and the sugar-cane.[1] Thence at a later day they passed over to this new world of ours, and have played a very important part in our political history. Rice, the great cereal of Valencia, and "the pest of the province" from the malaria produced by its culture, owes not only its entrance to the Moors, but also the hydraulic science used in modes of irrigation.

Seeds and plants.

[1] Gayangos quotes "Banqueri Agricultura," I. 392, as to the introduction of the sugar-cane, which is cultivated on the coast of Granada. The sugar-cane was known before the cultivation was introduced by the Moors. It was sent from Spain to Hispaniola in 1506. — FORD's *Handbook for Spain*, I. 289.

The best of leather was made by the Arab-Moors in Cordova, and hence Spanish leather is called Cordovan, which has given to English shoemakers their name of *cordwainers*. The secret of their tanneries was carried to Morocco, and thus the Spanish leather made in that country bears its name, morocco.

Leather.

They carried with them to Spain the secret of making sword-blades, which they found or originated in Damascus: these were of exquisite temper, and so polished that the wearer used his weapon as a looking-glass to adjust his turban. Quite as famous as these, and better known to western Europe, were the swords of Toledo, of the "ice-brook's temper." The manufacture went northward to Bordeaux, which was soon renowned for its rival workmanship. Nor has the fabrication left the Peninsula even down to the present day: it is a curious connection with the olden time which is found in the daggers and knife-blades of Albacete, that they bear Arabic inscriptions still, as if to boast their origin, and perhaps to secure a talisman[1] for success in their deadly use.

Knives and swords.

Silk, first made in China, where the worms fed upon the leaves of the white-mulberry tree (*Morus multicaulis*), was carried by the routes of commerce to the West, and was for a long time a very costly luxury. It remained so until Monkish missionaries brought the eggs, concealed in a hollow cane, to the Eastern Empire. Until the

Silk.

[1] Al Makkari, I. 94 and 393. The traveller is beset in Albacete with knife-sellers, whose wares, I am sorry to say, are not "trusty," or of "the ice-brook's temper," but catch-penny to the last degree.

twelfth century the manufacture was not known to the Christian countries of the West. "But," says Gibbon, "the secret had been stolen by the dexterity and diligence of the Arabs. The Khalifs of the East and West scorned to borrow from the unbelievers their furniture and apparel, and two cities of Spain, Almeria and Lisbon, were famous for the manufacture, the use, and perhaps the exportation of silk."[1] In the former of these places, silks of a very superior quality and of great variety were made; and the silk patterns of the fabric made in Murcia in the sixteenth century were those left there by the Moors.[2] During the Middle Ages, *raw* silk was largely exported from Almeria, a town the commerce of which had considerable connection with the commercial success of the Italian seaports.[3]

Glass.

Ibn Firnas, a physician who died in the year 889, made glass out of a silicious clay, and used it for fashioning vessels, and also in glazing those beautiful tiles called *azulejos* (*zuleich*, a varnished tile) which are employed in embellishing the floors and wainscoting (*dado*) of the Moorish interiors. Valencia is still famous for the manufacture of *azulejos.* The inventive genius of Ibn Firnas was not quite so fortunate in another project. He made experiments in flying, feathering himself and putting on wings like a bird: "but, in alighting again on the place whence he had started, his back was very much hurt; for, not knowing that birds when they alight

[1] Milman's Gibbon, V. 238.

[2] Al Makkari, I. 51 and 377, note 20.

[3] Ib. 360, note 126.

come down upon their tails, he forgot to provide himself with one."[1]

Jewelry.

The Arab-Moors of Cordova were also very skilful in the fabrics of the jeweller and goldsmith, the art of which they brought from Damascus, and to-day shops differing very slightly from those of the Moorish period may be seen in that city, where curious and delicate patterns of filigree-work in gold and silver attract a populace very fond of rather glaring ornaments; among the *joyas*, brilliant earrings and curiously wrought necklaces always find a prominent place.[2]

[1] Al Makkari, I. 148.

[2] Ford's Handbook for Spain, I. 225.

CHAPTER V.

ARABIAN ART IN SPAIN: ARCHITECTURE.

WE reach now a subject which is worthy of a much larger consideration than can be given it in these pages; one upon which many volumes have been written, and which deserves more attention in detail, and especially from the student of history, who seeks to identify a people by the works which they have produced. I mean Moro-Arabian art. Its chief, almost sole, form is architecture. With this art they have written their annals in southern Spain, and told us much of their social tastes and customs.

Arabian architecture.

To the eye of the rapid traveller in Spain, from the Pyrenees to Gibraltar, westward to Lisbon and eastward to Catalonia, Spain presents a curious conglomerate of architecture,—Roman remains, Gothic ruins, cathedrals of the Renaissance, modern French palaces, Tuscan enormities, Arabian alcazars and mosques; and he wonders if there be any historic clue or system to the intricacies of the labyrinth. As he journeys from north to south, he passes from modern France over to what we may call modern France on Spanish soil — so largely have French modes and customs overflowed — without catching

a glimpse of Moro-Arabian art, until he approaches Toledo.

At Burgos he is delighted with the great Gothic cathedral, with its filigree pinnacles, begun by an Englishman, Bishop Maurício, in 1221, and containing the "Cofre del Cid," the worm-eaten chest of that famous campeador, Don Rodrigo de Vivar, who won his matchless renown by fighting, sometimes against the Moors, sometimes against his own king. But this cathedral was the work of Christian art, long after the Moors had been driven southward in the progress of the reconquest.

In the church of Miraflores, near Burgos, is that remarkable alabaster monument, in the form of a star, in honor of Juan II. and his queen Isabella, which marks the incoming of Italian taste and skill at the close of the fifteenth century, with its exquisite details and marble embroideries, of which the Spaniards say eyes are wanting to see them, —*faltan ojos para mirarlos.*

At Valladolid and Segovia, where the traveller is on the look-out for glimpses of our simple friend Gil Blas, and for souvenirs of the Hapsburgs, there is nothing to repay the search for oriental art. Little more than two leagues from the former city, he may revel in the lately opened archives at Simancas, and verify the ignorance and falsehood of former history; but the archives, beginning late in the fifteenth century, have no relation to the Moorish dominion, except in the few years before their expulsion. If he expects to see in Madrid a Spanish city, he will be disappointed. He will find it a second-rate

French city, which, long after Toledo fell into Moslem hands, was only a sort of outlying picket to that capital. It only became the royal residence of Charles V. and the court of his son, Philip II., in the sixteenth century. The palace is a vast modern structure, built in the middle of the last century. There is nothing oriental about Madrid, nor anything that takes us back to the days of the conquest, except a few doubtful relics in the *Armeria,* or armory, which have at least an air of the antiquity that is claimed for them. There one is shown the gold votive crown, weighing over forty-six ounces, and adorned with precious stones, of Swintillic, a Visigothic king, who reigned from 621 to 631 A.D., and which declares its authenticity by the inscription, "*Svinthilanos offeret.*" There are fragments of other Gothic crowns. There one may believe or not that he sees a bridle-bit of Witiza the Wicked. A sword is exhibited, which is said to have been worn by Pelayo; and another, perhaps more authentic, which belonged to Boabdil el Chico, "the last of the Moors;" but the inscription is illegible. Still another sword, formerly believed to have belonged to Hernan Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico, has been more lately transferred to the Cid: it is the one known in his romantic history as *La Colada.*[1]

All that is Arabian in that gloomy pile, the Escurial, built by Philip II. as a church, convent, and

[1] His other sword was *Tizon* or Tizona, the brand, —

> "Las espadas taiadores
> Colada y Tizon." — *Poema del Cid.*

He had captured both from the Moors, and called them his *queridas prendas,* — loved better than his wife and daughters.

palace, is boxed up and concealed from public eyes, and even from the perusal of scholars, in the form of thousands of Arabic manuscripts, containing rare treasures of history if they could only be opened to the world of history.

The Escurial.

The traveller journeys on towards Cordova, and, when he crosses the frontier of Andalusia, he has exchanged the dry, unwholesome, stony, treeless country of the higher table-land, scourged by the chilly winds from the north which sweep over the snows of the Guadarrama,[1] for orange-groves, square leagues upon leagues of olive-trees, and a laughing light of nature upon vegetation and irrigating canal, upon man and beast. Then, too, he finds himself for the first time unmistakably in the old seats of the Arab-Moors, but little changed since the days of their residence.

But, before proceeding southward, the traveller must leave the main line at Castillejo, and visit Toledo, for there are a few real Moorish remains. There is the rock-perched Alcazar, built by Alfonso VI.,

[1] Spain, which presents a checker-board surface of mountain ranges and valleys, is, on the average, the highest land in Europe. Some of the more elevated valleys are between six and seven thousand feet above the level of the sea ; and a great central table-land, comprising ninety thousand square miles, has an average height of between two thousand and three thousand feet. The timber from most of this was cut down long ago ; and, what with no forestry laws and no replanting, the country suffers in many ways for want of trees. The sun scorches and the wind scourges its bare back continually. I never suffered more from cold than when crossing the Guadarrama range at night in April ; nor more from heat than when travelling in Andalusia. The great heats of Seville are proverbial, but healthy.

after Moorish models, when he captured the city from the infidel. The city itself, a veritable acropolis, belted by the Tagus, with its low houses and narrow winding streets, is a Moorish city; and the public structures were most of them built, not by the Moors, but, soon after their times, in Moorish style.

Upon or very near the site of the older Gothic church of Santa Maria, the Arab-Moors had built a splendid mosque, in the year 1032; and this mosque was converted into a Christian cathedral after the recapture of the city, in 1086. This gave way in turn to the present splendid Gothic structure, the first stone of which was laid in the year 1227, when there were yet apprehensions of Moorish invasion, and the completion of which was delayed until 1493, the year after the Arab-Moors had departed from Spanish soil, never to return.

The remains in Toledo.

Among the other objects of peculiar interest are the Moorish bridge called *Alcantara*, a half-ruined Moorish castle, and the remains of what was not — although long so considered — *el baño de la cava*, the fatal bath of Florinda, in which the sensual Roderick spied her from behind his lattice-window, as she bathed with her lady companions,[1] and was fired with lust at the sight.

Coming back to the main road, the traveller is soon in Cordova, a city which, in its entire aspect, shows the Moorish modes of social life. The remains are not numerous; but there is one which challenges the

[1] "It has been shown to be a fragment of a bridge house. The submerged foundations of the piers of the bridge may be seen." — N. A. WELLS, *Picturesque Antiquities of Spain*, letter viii.

admiration of the world, as the most unique of all the traces of the Arabian in Spain. It is the *Mezquita*, or Mosque; and it stands alone in a striking individuality. In the consideration of Arabian art, it demands at least a general description. More need not be attempted, as the reader will know where to find fuller details.

Cordova.

Before, however, undertaking this, and referring to some other remarkable remains, it will be necessary to clear the way by laying down a few principles and some historic facts, leading to a classification in outline of architectural works in the Peninsula. Debarred, as has been said, by the Korân — which not only thundered spiritual terrors, but gave strength to the arm of civil law — from representing images of animal life, and thus shut out from the attractive pursuit of the pictorial and plastic arts, the Arab-Moors turned with the greater assiduity to architecture; and, with little concern as to the appearance of the exteriors of their edifices, they bestowed all their taste and care upon the proportions, purposes, and ornaments of the interiors. The few rude pictures on the ceilings and walls of the palace of the Alhambra — notably those at the extremity of the Court of Lions, at a later age — are probably not of Moorish workmanship, but are the production of Christian captives, as the rude, heraldic lions supporting the fountain in that court are also supposed to be. It must be believed, however, from the fact that this work was done for the Moslem masters, that the Spanish Arabs were disposed to be less literal in adhering to the prohibition of the Korân, especially

as we know that Abdu-r-rahmán III. placed a statue of his favorite wife over the portal of his palace, and human heads in relief on his coins. But these were exceptions to a rule which was generally obeyed with rigor.

From what has been said, it is manifest that one who would study architecture in Spain encounters so many styles and specimens, that he must have some system of classification, to enable him to separate that which is essentially Moro-Arabian from the schools of Roman and of Christian art.[1]

Art periods in Spain.

Thus, in endeavoring, first, to set aside that which is *not* connected with the Moslem occupancy, he will find the following styles and periods: —

1. The *Roman Architecture,* introduced during the long dominion of the Western Empire, and extending to the fourth century, with some influence beyond it.

2. The *Roman-Gothic*, from the fourth to the eighth century, having a distinct character in the North.

3. The *Asturian-Gothic*, which eliminated much of the Roman element, from the eighth to the eleventh century.

4. Then, over northern routes, there came into the growing Christian kingdoms the *Roman-Byzantine*, under the influence of the Eastern Empire, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. This was also called the *Romanesque.*

[1] Ford, who knew Spain better than any Englishman and than most Spaniards, is particularly valuable to the tourist in his criticisms on Moro-Arabian art.

5. With the progress of the reconquest, there sprang into being the first native school, which has been called the *Hispano-Catholic*, which flourished till the sixteenth century. This was followed by

6 and 7. The *Revival* or *Plateresque*, and the *Græco-Roman*, until the eighteenth century.

These are all Christian styles. The division is not, of course, quite exact, but sufficiently so to mark clearly what was not Arabian. They overlapped and grew into each other, and thus the classification might be made much more numerous.

Entirely apart from these, but somewhat affected by the Roman Byzantine, is the *Arabian* architecture of the Peninsula. It was oriental in origin; it borrowed somewhat from the Persian; it was affected by its contact with Egyptian forms; and it was decidedly influenced by the tastes and needs of the Moors and Berbers, through whose country it passed on its way to Spain.

Arabian art distinct.

Side by side with the Christian schools from the eighth to the end of the fifteenth century, it erected its palaces and churches, plain without and exquisite within; and had its distinct periods, *three* in number, which are illustrated by splendid and curious remains.

1. Under the sway of the Ommeyades, from the eighth to the eleventh century, when the Khalifate of Cordova was integral and powerful, the *Byzantine-Arabic* appears. The Byzantine element is chiefly due to the fact that Christian architects were most frequently employed by the

Schools of Saracenic architecture.

Khalifs. Of this period, the best specimen — the finest in the world — is the Mosque of Cordova.[1]

2. The next period is from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, in which we find a more unmixed Arabian character. This is illustrated in exterior by a portion of the *Giralda*, or Moorish belfry of the Cathedral at Seville, and, in interior, by the *Sala de los Enbajadores* in the Alcazar of Seville, which many regard as the successful rival of the Hall of the Ambassadors in the Alhambra at Granada. This Sala retains, amid the great modifications of the Alcazar at later periods, almost its original character, form, and materials. A square chamber, thirty-three feet wide, with a "half-orange" (*media naranja*), ceiling, sixty feet high, it has four vestibules, each opening into the apartment by porphyry columns, supporting, with exquisite, flaring gilded capitals, three horse-shoe arches, — three-quarters of a circle; while a great blind arch, surmounting the three, is filled with ornaments, — vines, birds, bosses, and Arabic inscriptions. The dados are of the finest azulejos.

3. The third and last period of Mohammedan art is more oriental, and less influenced by Christian taste. In the former period there was a draw game between the conquest and reconquest. The Arab-Moors had not yet given up their hopes of retrieving all their losses. There were truces, and even high courtesies, between the contestants. Not so in the

[1] The minaret was a later device, but when introduced is not known. At first the call to prayer was made from the roof of the mosque.

present one. The tramp of the Christian Spaniards grew louder and came nearer; friendly communications became rarer, and neither of the hostile nations would borrow from the other. This is the philosophy of the purely oriental character of Moslem architecture from the eleventh century to the end of their dominion. To this period belong the remaining Moorish parts of the Alcazar of Seville; but the finest specimens are to be found in the palace of the Alhambra and the Generalife at Granada, the principal foundations of which were laid by Ibnu-l-ahmar, and the principal parts of which were erected after Granada became the sole remaining Moorish kingdom, and was tributary to the Christians.

Principal features of Arabian architecture.

The principal features of Moro-Arabian architecture are few and simple. It is to their excellent combination that the beautiful results are due. There is much open space, arranged in *patios*, or courts, with *estanques*, or fountains; numerous light pillars, with large, square, ornamented capitals, forming peristyles, single or clustered, and frequently gilded. These support a profusion of small horse-shoe arches,—a beautiful, but not powerful peculiarity in Arabian architecture. The general rejection of this arch by Christian builders is due no doubt in a great degree to its want of supporting power; but in lighter structures, where beauty rather than strength is the desire, we may believe that the Christian Spaniards refused to employ it on account of their jealous hatred of the infidel invaders.

The horse-shoe arch.

The ceilings were high, and concave or arched,

sometimes indented by miniature cupolas, sometimes bristling with stalactites of stucco-work, and enwreathed with arabesques and inscriptions from the Korán. In lieu of animal forms, which he was forbidden to depict, the decorator was thrown for his resources upon vegetable nature and geometrical figures; and thus we find on ceilings, walls, arches, and capitals traceries of vines and ferns and flowers, enwreathed, twisted, disappearing and reappearing, which constitute the chief beauty of what has been called the Arabesque. I venture to call it a living geometry, — innumerable polygons and circles and stars and radiations blossoming out of ferns and vines and fronded palms.[1] The interstices are delicately filled in with texts from the Korán, which seem also to grow out of the exquisite tangle; and the whole plan is pencilled with the primitive colors, red and blue, picked out with gold.

A living geometry.

The *dados* must not be forgotten. They were high wainscots of azulejos, varied in color and device, but usually of distinct mathematical patterns, and forming a pleasing contrast to the arabesque traceries already described. More than once in the changing fashions of Christian interiors these have been imitated in wall-papers.

Among the Moro-Arabian remains, I shall first attempt a general description of the oldest, the best

[1] A study of these traceries leads to the opinion that the fashioning of objects from nature was an afterthought of the artist. The mathematical figures are the essential part; the rounding or expanding these into leaves, flowers, etc., grew out of the figures themselves.

preserved, and the most striking, which is found in the first period of their art in Spain, — the Mezquita (*masegad*, to worship prostrate), or Mosque at Cordova. It was their grand initial manifesto, and the Khalifs who built it had for their purpose to detach the Spanish Moslems from moral as well as political dependence on the Eastern Khalifate; and, while they preserved their faith in the Korán, and consequently their veneration for Mecca as the Holy City of Mohammed, they thus constituted Cordova a new and splendid centre of the Moslem religion.[1] Such rivalry was bold; for the mosque at Damascus was, to the Arabian eye, "a building uniting in itself more beauties than the most fanciful imagination could conceive."[2]

The Mezquita of Cordova.

The rival mosque of Cordova owes its erection to Abdu-r-rahmán I. (Ad-dákhel), and his son, Hishám I., but it was augmented and embellished by the eight succeeding Khalifs of that dynasty.

During the early Roman occupancy, there had been erected in Cordova a temple dedicated to Janus Bifrons. Of this, Vandal and Goth had left but little except the foundation. The site was well chosen. Just below it flowed the Guadalquivir, crossed by a Roman bridge, which served as a causeway to the

[1] ". . . de apartar mas y mas á los musulmanes españoles de la dependencia moral de Oriente, . . . los conservaba la veneracion de Meca, haciendo á Cordova un nuevo centro de la religion muslimica." — La Fuente, *Historia de España*, III. 152.

[2] Al Makkari, I. 7, 217. Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, I. 49. It was called *Al-amáwi*, and was built by Walid, the sixth Ommeyan Khalif of Damascus, before the invasion of Spain.

temple. Upon its ruins, therefore, the Goths erected the Christian church dedicated to *Saint Vincent.*

When the Arab-Moors conquered the city, they acted in accordance with a tolerant custom which they had instituted, beginning at Damascus. They divided this Christian temple, permitting the conquered Christians to retain one-half for their worship, while they used the other half as a mosque, adding to it sanctuaries and open courts as early as the year 745.

Thus they worshipped side by side, a scandal to each other, until the year 784, when Abdu-r-rahmán I. purchased the Christian half for what was equivalent to two hundred thousand dollars; and, rapidly demolishing the entire church, began the construction of a mosque, which he determined should rival, in extent, beauty, and rich adornments, those of Damascus and Baghdad.[1] His fervor and enthusiasm, and his wish to inspire others in the work, caused him to labor in the building with his own hands, at least one hour every day; but he did not live to complete it. This good fortune was reserved for his son, Hishám I., who died in 796, leaving the splendid inheritance to his successors. Much of the early work was done by Christians captured at Narbonne. The plan was magnificent, and covers, with its buildings and courts, more space than any other temple in Christendom. Like all Arabian

Begun by Abdu-r-rahmán I.

[1] "Baghdad was founded by Al-mansúr, the second Khalif of the Abbasides, for his residence, and a splendid mosque was built about 760. The oldest remains in the modern city are those of a mosque, erected in 785, one of the minarets of which is left." — CHARLES KNIGHT'S ENGLISH *Encyclopædia of Geography, voce* Baghdad.

exteriors, the outward appearance is only noticeable for its plain wall, with turreted counterforts or buttresses, and its battlements, with flame-shaped crenates (*crénates flamboyantes*), triangular, with steps cut from the base to the vertex. In the earlier days, there was a tower seventy-two cubits in height, and an open dome, surmounted by apples of gold and silver, and, above all, a golden pomegranate, "rising about a cubit above the top of the dome, which is considered one of the wonders of the world."[1]

A few details only are necessary to give a general idea of the structure, as it presented itself in novel splendor to the subjects of the first Ommeyan Khalifs in the reconstructed capital. It was, when completed, six hundred and forty-two feet long, and, including the court, four hundred and forty in width; the length of the court was two hundred and twenty feet.[2] At first, it was laid out in eleven aisles, by columns at equal distances. This number Hishám II. increased to nineteen. These nineteen aisles remain to show us the exact structure, so that no effort of the fancy is necessary to realize fully its ancient glory. They are marked by columns of jasper, beryl, verd-antique, and porphyry, and the pleasing effect of the variety in their colors does not detract from a unity in the general effect. The present number of these pillars, including the pilasters in the walls, is eight hundred and fifty. They are of nearly uniform dimensions, — nine feet from base to capital, eighteen inches in diameter, — with a resemblance to Corinthian capitals. Besides these, square

Proportions and details.

[1] Al Makkari, I. 224. [2] Ib. 495, note 12.

pillars support the timber-work of the roof. The entrance to the mosque was by massive bronze doors.

They thus form a vast grove of stone trees, which, seen in a "dim religious light," give great and novel pleasure to the beholder, and induce serious emotions, not unlike those, we may believe, which the dense living forests excited in the ancient Druids. On one of these columns there is now a little iron grating, with a lamp, that, like a vestal fire, illuminates a rude etching of Christ on the cross, which a Christian captive, chained to the pillar, scratched on it with a nail, — a dim but tender memory of an unknown martyr's hope. The effect of this interior is indescribable. It stands alone in the world. The traveller returns to it again and again, not to see, but to feel.

A forest of columns.

The great court or garden was surrounded on three sides by a portico, divided into four equal *plates-bandes*, furnished with three reservoirs, and refreshed with six fountains, two for men and two for women, for their preparatory ablutions. The sexes entered these courts by different gates. The water in the reservoirs and fountains was brought by an aqueduct from a neighboring mountain. Planted with orange-trees, it formed a pleasant promenade, between the hours of devotion, and remains to-day as one of the most charming spots in Cordova.

Entering at the great gate (*Puerta de perdon*), and walking up the principal aisle, the visitor passes through a beautiful portal into the *mihrab*, at the *kiblah* end of the mosque. This is a room of octagonal plan, about fifteen feet in diameter,

The mihrab.

the ceiling of which is formed like a shell, out of a single block of white marble; it is twenty-seven feet high.[1] Here, for centuries, was kept one of the original copies of the Korán, said to be that which lay upon the lap of Othman, the third Khalif in succession from the Prophet, when he was assassinated, and stained with his life-blood. We need not scrutinize the story; if it was not that copy, it was certainly one of comparatively few made, probably at his direction, by an *ashâb* or companion of the Prophet, and therefore of assured sanctity. The box or case containing this priceless book was covered with gold-tissue, embroidered with pearls and rubies, and was placed upon a lectern of aloe-wood, put together with golden nails.

The marble floor of the mihrab was worn in a circle, as it may still be seen, by the seven circuits which each pilgrim was required to make around it.

Occupying a considerable space in front of the door, and serving as a screen to the holy chamber, was the *maksurah*, and connected with it were the Khalif's seat and the pulpit. It was inlaid with gold and silver and *lapis lazuli*, and exquisitely carved; the doors in it were of pure gold, and the enclosed pavement was of silver. The pulpit, the gift of Al-hakem II., was made of costly woods, inlaid with ivory and enriched with jewels; the nails joining its parts were of gold and silver. Its cost at that day was over a million of dollars.

[1] "The mihrab is now St. Peter's Chapel, called *Capilla del Zancarron* (the chapel of the chin-bone), from a belief that Mohammed's chin-bone was preserved there." — AL MAKKARI, I. 496, note 18.

The height of the ceiling of the mosque seems inadequate in proportion to its plan; it is only thirty-five feet. But, in point of fact, this does not interfere with the architectural effect; it only densifies the thick growth, coming low upon the forest of columns. It was filled with ovals, bearing appropriate inscriptions, "and calling the mind of the Faithful to contemplation and devotion."[1] The columns support in two directions double arches, one above the other,— those springing from the capitals being horse-shoe arches, very little more than semicircular, and the upper ones representing small arcs of circles. The *voussoirs* of both were alternately white and red, with gilded edges. For a time, Christian barbarism covered them with whitewash, but they have, in later times, been scraped, and the original effect is restored.

Arches.

The wonders of this mosque are given in delightful detail by the Arabian chroniclers. Words fail them to express their admiration. It ranked in sanctity, in the opinion of the Spanish-Arabs, just after *Al-aksa* of Jerusalem and the Temple of Mecca. At the seasons of the Passover, the new year, Mohammed's birthday, and other high festivals, it presented a blaze of light from two hundred and eighty chandeliers, constructed from captured Christian bells; there were upwards of ten thousand lights in the building. Fifteen hundred tapers lighted the mihrab alone, and clouds of illuminated incense from burning ambergris and aloe-wood, anticipated for the materialistic Mos-

[1] Al Makkari, I. 231. These inscriptions were erased by the Christians. Fortunately, those in the mihrab were permitted to remain.

lem the gorgeous sheen and the delicious perfumes of Paradise.

West of the mosque was a *casa de caridad*, especially intended for indigent scholars visiting the capital for instruction; and, besides this, poor-houses for the paupers of the city.

Such, in its material features, was the Mezquita of Cordova, even when Charles V. came upon the historic scene. Chapels had been added, and minor changes made. Even before it fell permanently into Christian hands, it had suffered from their hatred. Ibnu-l-Khatlíb relates that, when a general of the Almoravides took possession of the city, in 1156, his *Christian* auxiliaries tied their horses to the maksurah, and profaned the sacred Korán of the mihrab, which was afterwards carried about in great state by Abdu-l-mumen, in his military expeditions,[1] to preserve it from a similar profanation.

During the reign of Charles V., the archbishop applied to him to add lateral chapels, transepts, and a choir. When the work was completed, the emperor went to see it. He was thoroughly disgusted. The new additions were not in keeping with the old structure. The beautiful double arches were resplendent with whitewash, and he exclaimed: "I was not aware of this. Had I known you intended to touch the ancient portion, I would not have permitted it. You have built here what can be built anywhere else, but you have destroyed what was unique in the world."

Alterations in the days of Charles V.

[1] See Condé, Dominacion de los Arabes, II. ch. xliv.

Ford, in his epigrammatic style, calls the Moor "the thief of antiquity," and in the building of the Mezquita he certainly stole to some purpose. Some of the pillars came from the ruined temples of Rome; some from Roman buildings at Narbonne, pillaged by Hishám II.; one hundred and forty, it is said, were presented by the Emperor of Constantinople, in honor of a western khalifate which weakened while it rivalled his nearer neighbors of Damascus and Baghdad; a few were found among the ruins of Carthage; some came from the quarries of Tarragona; and the remainder were quarried in the mountains near Cordova.[1] It is due to this diversity of supply that they were of different lengths; those that were too long were cut off to meet the floor; to those that were too short a slight pedestal was given, or the capital was enlarged. It is strange, but true, that this disparity does not detract from the picturesqueness of the interior; indeed, it may be said that in the grandeur of the *ensemble* it is hardly noticed.

The Moor not the only "thief of antiquity."

The Moor was "the thief of antiquity," but it must be observed that he was no worse than his neighbors; he finds guilty company in the person of Charlemagne. When the great emperor was about to build the church which was to give its cognomen to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he found great difficulty in procuring proper columns and statuary. Workmen were wanting who could carve a capital, and even chisel a monolithic column. So completely was he hampered in this respect that he

[1] Al Makkari, I. 234, 502, note 5.

had recourse to the most ordinary custom, which was to strip ancient temples, in order to decorate the modern churches. He caused granite columns to be transported from Ravenna, and his architects did not know enough to use them to good purpose when they came,[1] as the reputed remains of the old cathedral testify.

Unjust criticisms.

It is certainly unnecessary, as it is almost impossible, to offer any technical criticism upon the Mosque of Cordova. Unique as it is, it retires from such a criticism. I must be permitted to express my astonishment at those referred to by Prescott, who find it "heavy and barbarous," "a park rather than a temple," "grotesque and incongruous" — "in its parti-colored columns of different lengths and its crowded arches of different chords."[2] To my mind it evades the rules of technical æsthetics: it is superior to them; it stands forth as a grand and interesting teacher of history; it is to be judged by the majesty and solemnity of its lesson and its mysterious sway over the emotions. It goes back to the very century of the conquest, and in its antecedents, its additions and alterations, it is a compendium of the four great periods of Spanish history, — the Roman, the Gothic, the Arabian, and the Restoration.[3] He must indeed be a phlegmatic traveller, of the *nil admirari* school, who does not find himself lulled

[1] Le Fèvre, Les Merveilles de l'Architecture.

[2] Ferdinand and Isabella, I. 279.

[3] "La actual Catedral de Cordoba compendia en sí la historia de los quatro grandes periodos de España, — romana, gotica, arabiga, y restaurada." — La Fuente, *Historia de España*, III. 152, note.

into a serious but pleasing contemplation in this mysterious forest of stone; and he must be a superficial student of history who does not here learn many most valuable lessons of human fortune, with the inevitable moral that if life is brief, art is long, and is the best interpreter of history. The Spaniard of to-day is an anachronism, entirely out of place in the Mosque of Cordova: the fancy of the historian who visits it peoples its aisles with its proper denizens, turbaned and robed, prostrating themselves to the Kiblah, and ejaculating, "Bismillah — in the name of the most merciful Allah."

CHAPTER VI.

MORO-ARABIAN ART AND LIBRARIES: CONCLUDING SUMMARY.

BUT the most remarkable of the Moro-Arabian remains, built in the third and latest period, is the Moorish palace of the Alhambra of Granada, with its humbler companion, the Generalife.[1] It has no spice of Christian art, but rather testifies to the more complete separation of the contestants — Christians and Moors — in this, the last stronghold of the Moorish dominion in Spain.

The Moorish palace of the Alhambra.

The eminence upon which it stands, the higher of two which form the site of the city of Granada, is about twenty-three hundred feet long by six hundred broad, — an irregular, elongated oval, forming a plateau. Ford says, "it is shaped like a grand piano, with the point towards the Torre de la Vela." The name Alhambra, which is given to this fortified plateau, includes the palace and numerous other structures, standing in the open space, and necessary to the comfort and completeness of the

[1] A full description of the Alhambra, with splendid illustrations in detail, will be found in the sumptuous work of Owen Jones, two volumes, folio, entitled "Illustrations of the Palace of the Alhambra." Also consult, for its fine drawings, James Cavanah Murphy's "Arabian Antiquities of Spain."

royal residence. The hill plain is capable of containing forty thousand men.

Separated from these grounds by a slight ravine is the Generalife. There are two principal and impressive views of the Alhambra, — the one from below, with the snowy summits of the Sierra Nevada behind it, which presents it geographically; and the other from the *mirador*, or veranda, of the Generalife, from which we are impressed with its topographical strength and comeliness, as it commands the beautiful and luxuriant *vega*, or extended plain, watered by the Xenil and the Darro. Never were strength and comeliness more happily combined. The contour of the eminence is enclosed by a high wall of *tapia*, pierced by gateways, and buttressed and defended, at irregular distances, by strong towers jutting out beyond the wall. They stand to-day as they were constructed by the Moors.

The principal entrance at the northwest is by the Calle de los Gomeles, over the portal of which is the inscription, "There is no conqueror but God."[1] It opens upon the walks and groves on the southern slope, and at the foot of the hill, called the *Gardens of the Alhambra*. These gardens were planted, after the Peninsular War, with feathering elms by the Duke of Wellington, — to whom the Spanish government had given the estate of Soto de Roma, — and they present to the eye

Gardens planted by the Duke of Wellington.

[1] The unfortunate Ibnu-l-hamar, who was tributary to the Christian king, was obliged to go to war, as his ally, against a neighboring Mohammedan kingdom. When complimented on his successes, he exclaimed sadly, "There is no conqueror but God!"

a beauty of foliage which comports well with the curious structures above. At the foot of the northern slope, which is more precipitous, the Darro sweeps to the west and south, like a great natural fosse to the stronghold, which seems, however, scarcely to need this protection.

The palace rises a little to the west of the centre on the northern slope, and thus has a bird's-eye view from the Tower of Comares of the river and the plain beyond.

And here is the place to repeat the world-protest against the great Tuscan palace, projected and partially built by Charles V. Its circular court was intended for a Plaza de Toros, and has never been used. Fortunately the structure was never completed, but in its unfinished state it blocks and hides the palace from the southern approach, and impresses the world of visitors with a perennial disgust. The entrance to the Moorish structure is by a low door, around the corner of this new edifice, and is thus entirely hidden. Admission to the precincts is through the *Court of Justice.*

The palace of Charles V.

Plain and unnoteworthy from without, the Moorish palace bursts upon the stranger as a revelation of Eastern beauty as unexpected as it is unique, when he enters the first court, called by several names, — *Patio del Agua, Patio de los Arrayanes* (of the Myrtles); *de la Alberca* (of the Fish-pond, — *albeerkah,* pond); or, according to others, the *Court of the Blessing* (*berkáh,* blessing).

Court of Myrtles or Blessing.

This *patio,* or court, is one hundred and forty feet long by seventy-four feet broad, with a long marble

estanque in the centre, stocked with goldfish, and along the borders are rows of square-clipped myrtle in hedges.[1] Six beautiful columns at each extremity, with high and elaborated capitals, support, with the walls, seven horse-shoe arches; and enclose or mark out covered galleries. The long side walls are bare, save of doors and grated windows, which indicate the apartments of the women; four sentry-boxes at the corners were the places of the eunuchs, who guarded the privacy of the women of the seraglio when they came to bathe in the pond.

I cannot linger on the details of description. From this court, through an unostentatious door, one enters the *Patio de los Leones* (the Court of the Lions), which is far more graceful and expressive than that of the Myrtles. Beautiful peristyles and galleries, formed by arches and slender columns, one hundred and twenty-eight in number, enclose it on all sides. At the extremities, these open into chambers, with pointed arches supporting groined ceilings; while, in the centre of the court, twelve rude marble lions, radiating from a centre, — the work of Christian captives, — support an alabaster basin, dodecagon in shape, which receives the waters from a fountain jet above. The columns are nine feet high, including the capital and base. Some stand single, while others are close-clustered, presenting thus a pleasing variety. The upper space between the arches is decorated with perforations and indenta-

The Court of the Lions.

[1] The name *Court of the Myrtles* is probably modern; as the fancy of having a green hedge on the long sides would at any time have given such an appellation.

tions, called "the honeycomb," and from these numerously pierced spaces are *pendentives,* — a peculiar feature in Saracenic architecture, — elongated drops of exuberance from the overflowing cells.

Separated only by rows of columns from the *Patio de los Leones* is the delightful hall known as *La Sala de las dos Hermanas* (of the Two Sisters), very improbably considered as owing its name to two fine marble slabs in the pavement. A Moorish imagination ought to have devised a more romantic story for such a name. The traveller, inspired by the *genius loci*, is tempted to invent one.

And for another adjoining *sala* there is a better one. That which is called the Hall of the *Abencerrages* is honored by the legend, resting upon little authority indeed, that a number, — Murphy says eighty-six, — of the warriors of this family, who were at feud with the Zegris, were murdered there. As they entered it by invitation, totally unwarned of their danger, and made their obeisance, their heads were struck off. There are spots upon the pavement which the *cicerone* calls blood. They look like iron-rust from a flaw in the marble.[1]

But the glory of the Alhambra is the *Sala de los Embajadores* (the Hall of the Ambassadors), in the Tower of Comares, overlooking the Darro. The inhabitants call it the "proud saloon" and the "gilded saloon." It is entered by an *ante-*

Hall of the Ambassadors.

[1] The traveller recalls many similar blood-stains in different parts of Europe, where men were really murdered. As the murder of the Abencerrages is not substantiated, the *raison d'être* is wanting for our belief in these stains.

camara, which has a star-bespangled roof, rich dados of azulejos, and high and wide recesses on either side, supported by beautiful columns. This antechamber is a fitting usher to the great hall.

The hall itself thus thresholded is thirty-seven feet square. The ceiling is a dome, *media naranja* (half orange), the centre of which is seventy-five feet from the floor. It is inlaid with curious work of white, blue, red, and gold, and stucco stalactites descend from it.

The seven deep cabinet-windows, with balconies, look out upon the Vega. From one of these it is said that Boabdil el Zogoybi (the Unlucky) was, when a child, let down in a basket, to save him from the cruelty of a favorite, who rivalled his mother in influence over his father. And the story is told that Charles V., leaning from another, and alluding to the stipulation of Boabdil at his surrender that he should retain a residence in the Alpujarras, exclaimed, "I would rather have this place for a sepulchre than the Alpujarras for an inheritance." But, as has been seen, even that mountain residence was not long secured to the unlucky Moorish king, who was soon politely requested to remove himself and his misfortunes into Africa.

Stories of its windows.

The supply of water was amply provided for. The principal cistern was in the *Plaza de los Algibes*, just west of the palace. It furnished water for the baths and the conduits for drinking. It was one hundred and two feet long by fifty-six wide. The wall was six feet thick. It was arched over, and the centre of the arch was forty-seven feet

The great cistern.

and seven inches from the bottom. Seventeen feet and five inches of this depth was below the surface of the ground, and thus the water was kept cool.

The baths were constructed of variegated marbles, with *azulejos* and mosaic work, and were used for purposes of cleanliness, comfort, and religious purification. The water was heated in copper vessels. In the great bathing-hall there were seventy-five openings in the ceiling, serving for light and ventilation. These were glazed with green; and a concert-room was attached to lull the senses of the royal bathers, and thus enhance the pleasure of the bath.

Connected with the queen's apartments was a little room, only six feet square, with a balcony attached, called *El Tocador de la Reina* (the Boudoir of the Queen), which presents the singular contrivance of numerous orifices in the floor, through which perfumes and incense from below penetrated her robes and skirts, when she was dressed for the day. Thus decorated and perfumed, she attended the king.

"Tocador de la Reina."

I need not dwell upon the other parts and appliances of this royal Moorish residence, — the Square of the Alcazaba, the Mosque, the House of Justice, the *Torre de la Vela,* or chief watch-tower. These have been all fully described, with numerous pictorial illustrations, and are within the reach of every reader. Descriptions are numerous, but they can only be realized by an actual sight.[1]

[1] It is fortunate that most of the rooms and contrivances here described remain in such a state of preservation that they may be seen now as they were in the earlier day.

One word must be said concerning the beautiful *jarron,* or two-handled vase, enamelled in blue, white, and gold. It was made in 1320, and is particularly to be observed, because it marks the first period of Moorish porcelain manufacture in such forms and proportions.

The erection of the buildings.

Begun by Ibnu-l-'Ahmar, in 1248, upon the meagre nucleus of a rude building, the Alhambra was added to by his immediate successors, and finished by his grandson, Mohammed III., Nasr, and Isma'il I., in the early part of the fourteenth century. Yúsuf I., who began his reign in 1333, regilded and painted it, and caused it to shine forth in its latest splendor. "Time and the dry air of Spain," says Ford, "have used it gently;"[1] but, as to the conquerors, it was "a Moorish abomination, it has received no attention since, save a desecrating coat of whitewash, which a very modern taste is attempting to remove."[2]

The historic significance of the Alhambra is our chief concern. Built by degrees, and developing thus from the single "Red Castle" (*Kal'at Al-hamrá*), in the middle of the ninth century; very largely increased in the thirteenth by Ibnu-l-'Ahmar, and completed in the fourteenth by Yúsuf I., it suggests many things to the student of art and history. First of all,

[1] Ford's Hand-Book for Spain, I. 298.

[2] Queen Isabella II., who visited it in 1862, directed the restoration, which has been undertaken by Señor Contréras, a native of Granada, thoroughly acquainted with Moorish art. Many of the *patios* and halls have been restored to their original splendor, as I had the pleasure of observing in 1870.

it presents the perfection of Moro-Arabian art. The visitor in its courts finds himself not in Europe, but in the Orient; not in Granada, but in Damascus. It realizes the fancies awakened by the memory of the "Arabian Nights." It is an anachronism, — a bit of the period of Haroun Al Raschid thrust into the modern age and into a distant country. It links the glories of Baghdad to the civilizing conquest of Spain by the Arab-Moors.

The philosophic teachings of the Alhambra.

[It speaks of concentration. As Granada was the last kingdom retained by the Moors before their final expulsion, so in its citadel, the Alhambra, wealth, taste, power, were contracted in space but consolidated in form and substance. All the remaining vitality of the conquest, all the progress in art, all the glory of the past, all the hopes of the future, clustered in strength and beauty within the Alhambra of Granada.]

It was a stronghold; lying between the Darro and the Xenil, it was by nature a fortification, and its thick walls and strong out-thrusting towers seemed to render it impregnable to any assault before the days of gunpowder. It defended the city, and it was the last bulwark of the kingdom. To fortify it to the extreme of possibility was the Moorish duty; to take it, the difficult Christian task.

It was also a palace of delights: it catered to every desire, and gratified every taste. Every foot of room was utilized, — in *patios, salas,* courts, baths, gardens, mosques, hospitals, schools, and prisons; and, when it was arranged for winter use, the Generalife was its beautiful summer-house. To the women it was a

pleasure and a retreat, a harem from which they could hardly desire to be released.

I have thus briefly described the Mezquita of Cordova and the Alhambra at Granada, in order to present the beginning and the end of Moorish art in Spain; and it is fortunate that both these structures remain very much as they were originally built, — the one the first work of their oriental fancy, to enshrine the glory of Allah and the manifesto of Islám; the other, the last labor of their cunning hands to guard their little remaining power in Spain. Taken together, they enable us to form a critical judgment. They are exceedingly unlike. The former tells of boldness and strength and progress; the latter, of a lightness, grace, and epicurean luxuriousness, which mark the period of decline in strength, and abandonment to torpid pleasures. The Khalif who sat upon the *maksurah* of the mosque was of a very different type from the king who lounged in the Lion Court, or languidly gazed from the Tower of Comares on the Vega, which almost limited his contracted inheritance.

Not many years passed before Christian architecture marked the final expulsion from Granada. The first architectural work of the Renaissance in Spain was the Cathedral at Granada, a building that stands in the boldest contrast to the Moorish palace of the Alhambra; the contrast is eminently historic. It was begun in 1529, only thirty-seven years after the Moorish capital had fallen into the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella. Their grandson, Charles V. of Germany, was on the throne of Spain, the church hero at once of the conquest over Islám and of the anti-

reformation. The cathedral is a noble structure, four hundred feet long and two hundred and thirty wide, with side chapels, that of the king being of special historical interest. Poetic justice built it on the site of a great mosque, and made this royal chapel, *Capilla de los Reyes,* the burial-place of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Philip and Joanna. The chapel had been built before the cathedral, by order of the joint sovereigns, who, as the inscription informs us, "crushed heresy, expelled the Moors and Jews from these realms, *and reformed religion.*" In it there may be seen the splendid Italian tombs, with reclining effigies of the great monarchs, and in a small vault below are the rude leaden coffins, with simple initial letters, containing their remains. As the awe-struck visitor lays his hand upon them, he feels nearer to the history than ever before,—to the romantic conquest of Granada, to Columbus and his great discovery; and the feeling is intensified when, passing from the place of tombs, he is shown, in the adjoining sacristy, the plain sword which Ferdinand wore in his last campaign against the Moors, and the box which had once contained the jewels pawned by Isabella to fit out the expedition of the great admiral. The Cathedral of Granada may be thus said to form the architectural link between the expulsion of the Arab-Moors by the Catholic sovereigns and the momentous voyage of Columbus, which "gave a new world to Castile and Leon."

Of the historical statistics of this later period I have spoken in a former chapter. The contracted limits of the kingdom of Granada, and its peaceful con-

dition as a tributary to the reconquest, had consolidated its municipal power, and given point and elegance and historic meaning to its architecture; and what the Arab-Moors achieved had not been without a reflex influence upon the Spanish conquerors themselves. The learning which they had brought from the East had been diffused throughout Spain. What had been collected, by the liberality of the earlier Khalifs of the house of Abbas, had been fostered in colleges and collected in libraries; and although there was always a party, composed of the ignorantly devout, which looked with concern upon the increase of secular knowledge, and especially upon the investigations in natural philosophy, the humanists, as in a later Christian age, carried the day. It was to no purpose that the Korán seemed to utter a threatening voice, and that a professor in advance of his age was in danger of being branded as a *Zindik*, or dangerous heretic.[1]

The consolidation of knowledge.

Spain swung by long and light cables to her ecclesiastical moorings. Her *ulemah* and *muftis* were soon emancipated from such thraldom, and had no abject fear of the conflict of religious truth with the science of nature; they sought for pure truth, even when threatened with exile and martyrdom.

Connected with the free schools, originally attached to the mosques wherever the Arabians conquered,

[1] A very general term. "Sous le nom de *Zendik* se confondaient les sectes infâmes et communistes . . . et les libres-penseurs. . . . Le peuple ne fait guère de différence entre ceux qui ne croient pas comme lui. Quelquefois même on rattachait les Zendiks au Sabisme et à l'idolâtrie." — RENAN'S *Averroes*, p. 103.

and intended primarily to instruct in the faith of the Korán, and of which there were eighty in Cordova, were professors of the new arts and sciences, skilled and eloquent, who had fixed salaries, and regular lecture-courses. These acquired power at home, and soon achieved a European renown. At Cordova in the tenth century, besides these schools, Al-hakem founded an academy, which was soon multiplied into fifteen, for special sciences, — not confederated into what we call a university, but forming in reality, for several centuries, the most celebrated educational institution in the world.[1] The religious tenets upon which it was founded were indeed those of Islám, but natural and exact sciences are independent of creeds, and these did not hinder Christian students from flocking in great numbers to this centre of philosophic inquiry. While the Christian Church was becoming intolerant in the extreme, and the Inquisition was being established to punish heresy and strangle science, the humaner system of the Moslems — violated sometimes, indeed, by special intolerance — left men to their own religious opinions, and science prospered.

All the other works of Al-hakem are eclipsed by the greatness and excellence of his library, which, according to Casiri, contained six hundred thousand volumes, and required forty-four volumes for its catalogue alone; each volume containing twenty sheets of paper, devoted entirely to the titles

The library of Al-hakem.

[1] For a consideration of the part played by these professors, and the opposition in spite of which they accomplished their philanthropic work, see Al Makkari, I. 141.

and descriptions of the books.[1] He sent his agents in every direction to purchase books, without regard to expense, and his library was the largest and most valuable thus far formed in the world. It was not only thus a great repertory for scholars, whom it attracted from all countries, but it incited others to collect; so that, in computing the book-treasures of Cordova, we must not fail to take into the account that "there were in the capital many other libraries in the hands of wealthy individuals, where the studious could dive into the fathomless sea of knowledge and bring up its inestimable pearls."[2] "To such an extent did this rage for collection increase," says Ibnu Sa'id, "that any man in power, or holding a situation under the government, considered himself obliged to have a library of his own, and would spare no trouble or expense in collecting books, merely in order that people might say, 'Such a one has a very fine library, or he possesses a unique copy of such a book, or he has a copy of such a work in the handwriting of such a one.'"[3] As an illustration of the Khalif Al-hakem's enthusiasm for books, it is said that he sent a thousand dinars of pure gold to Abul-faradj-el Isfahani, a Persian author, for the first copy of his celebrated "Anthology," so that it was read in Andalusia before it was read in Persia.[4]

Such academies as those of Cordova were imitated

[1] Bibliotheca Escurialensis, II. 202. Dozy, Notices sur quelques Manuscrits Arabes, p. 103.

[2] Al Makkari, I. 139.

[3] Cited by Al Makkari, I. 140.

[4] Rénan's Averroes, p. 3.

in the other cities of Spain, and they form the origin of those famous Spanish universities, fostered into power and fame by the Saracens, at Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Salamanca,[1] and Alcalá, which came into the hands of the reconquering Christians with all their forms and appliances. They were re-established by the conquerors, but soon began that downward career, falling into a state of torpor, in which they may now be said scarcely to exist.

Academies and colleges.

One word more concerning the library of Al-hakem He died in the year 976, and was succeeded by his effeminate son, Hisham II. It has been seen that, taking advantage of Hisham's weakness, his wizir, Al-mansur, usurped the royal power, but, in the main, used it right royally; like a true Mohammedan, with an ardent faith, and no taste for books, he determined to undo the great work of Al-hakem. He caused to be carefully selected from the great collection all the works on philosophy, physics, and astronomy, with all others pertaining to science; and he ordered them to be burnt, re-enacting the barbarous destruction of the Alexandrian library in the seventh century. He achieved the purpose he had in view, for this wholesale destruction of secular learning was very popular with the ignorant multitude. He only spared the works on rhetoric, poetry, history, medicine, law, and theology. This left indeed a large number of valuable books, which were added to in later reigns; but, when the Ommeyan dynasty was approaching its end, in one of the civil

The destruction of books by Al-mansur.

[1] The University of Salamanca was re-established by Alfonso VIII. (El Bueno) of Castile; that of Alcalá by Cardinal Ximenes.

commotions which rent the kingdom, Cordova was sacked; the library was broken up, scattered, and sold; and yet, in this irregular dissemination, the good seed of knowledge was borne to other lands and brought forth fruit.[1]

The records are not sufficiently exact to enable us to mark all the steps of Arabian culture in Spain, nor would such a statistical inquiry be of interest to the reader. I have preferred to take it at its best. The period of progress in which I have found my principal illustrations is, for science and philosophy, the palmy day of the Moorish dominion under the Ommeyan monarchs, from the eighth to the eleventh century, when the whole of southern and central Spain was in the hands of the Arab-Moors. It was a day of great light and pride and glory within their Spanish kingdom; a day in which the highest knowledge overflowed the mountain barriers, and went on, widely irrigating the arid fields of Europe, — a day of wonderful contrasts between Arabian Spain and the Christian West. In Christian Europe, such limited knowledge as there was was confined to the cloister and cathedral; many of the priests and monks recited,

Contrast between Moslem Spain and Christian Europe.

[1] Accepting the number of volumes collected by Al-hakem, we are hardly called upon to believe the assertion of Ibnu-l-abbar, that not one book was to be found in it which the Khalif had not perused, "writing on the fly-leaf the name, surname, and patronymic of the author; that of the tribe or family to which he belonged, the year of his birth and death; after which followed such interesting anecdotes about the author or his work as through his immense reading he had derived from other writers." This seems a clear case of "qui facit per alium facit per se."

like parrots, a Latin service which they could not translate into the vernacular; kings repudiated book-learning as unworthy of the crown, and warlike nobles despised it as unworthy of the sword. It was a rare thing, and not considered an accomplishment, to find a layman who could read or write. To suppose that he could was to insult him, by mistaking him for an ecclesiastic. To documents of importance which they could not read they "signed their names," as ignorant laborers do at the present day, with the sign of the cross, or a rude arrow-head, as "their mark." No less a personage than Philippe le Bel of France, who conducted foreign wars, and exterminated the Templars, made "his mark" as late as the thirteenth century, nearly three hundred years after Al-hakem was reading the books in his great library, and writing a digest of each on its fly-leaves.

It would be interesting to dwell more at length upon the contrast, for it is by such comparisons as these that we are led to appreciate the true character and full value of the culture which the Arab-Moors achieved in Spain and imparted by slow degrees to Christian Europe. The slowness of this impartation was due not to them, but to those to whom they offered their treasures. The Christian Spaniards suspected everything which the Infidel presented, and the Christian historians in later periods have done all they could to belittle or ignore this Arabian civilization. A typical illustration is found in the superstitious and intolerant proceeding of Cardinal Ximenes, the bold and sagacious Richelieu of Spain in the fifteenth century, who burnt, in the

Cardinal Ximenes.

plazas of Granada, an immense number of Arabic volumes, variously computed at from eighty thousand to over a million,[1] "on the pretence that they contained doctrines adverse to the diffusion of the gospel among the vanquished people."[2] What an irreparable loss to history!

Nor is it astonishing that, as most of the later historians have drawn their facts and opinions from these polluted sources, the Arabians have not received their due meed of praise, even from those who have no bias of blood or of faith, but who simply believe what they have been told.

Their beneficent learning spread in every direction. In imitation of Cordova, Morocco became the Baghdad of western Africa. Mosques, palaces, gardens, and vineyards were designed by Andalusian architects, and were mere copies of similar buildings in Spain.[3]

Not gifted with great individual genius, but of rare receptivity, the Arab-Moors caught upon their mirror-like minds the light which was shining with scattered and diffused radiance in the East, — the original productions of Chinese and Hindoo; the uncertain glimmer of the Nabatean culture, the rare adaptations and skilful modifications of the Greeks. They had drawn all these pencils of light to a focus, and had reflected the concentrated radiance into the dark and cloudy Northwest. To leave the figure, they had

[1] Gayangos considers the larger number "a monstrous exaggeration" of Robles, the biographer, "to increase the merits of his hero."

[2] Preface to Al Makkari, I. viii.

[3] Al Makkari, I. 120.

thus prepared Christian Europe, reclaiming it from its besotted ignorance, to receive the overwhelming tide of Greek learning which, after the downfall of Constantinople, was to come pouring westward by the more direct route across Europe. Homer and Plato, Æschylus and Sophocles and Aristotle, Euclid and Apollonius, until then read in Latin translations of Arabic versions, were for the first time to be studied at Oxford in the original Greek; and thus the high value of the Arabian work was made manifest.

The termination of the Mohammedan dominion in Spain is the point of view from which the historian looks back to take in at one glance the full meaning of this extraordinary history. Great events stand as landmarks in the receding landscape; great principles are evolved from their combination. The East contained in its mysterious treasure-houses vast stores of knowledge and wisdom; the West was the abode of ignorance and mental torpor. Attempts to transport these stores had been long frustrated by the fall of western Rome, the chaos which succeeded, and the steady decline of the Eastern Empire. Much of this knowledge had been massed and grown motionless in Egypt, concealed in hieroglyphs, owing to the esoteric system of the priesthood, the guardians of knowledge; Greece was left stationary, the custodian, but no longer the producer, of the grandest literature in the world. How should all this be roused into a new vitality and communicated to western Europe?

A retrospective glance.

It was in this condition of things that a false prophet, but a mighty man, arose amid the deserts

of Arabia, among a quick-witted, light-footed, brave-hearted people. They had no claims to culture. The passage from "the age of ignorance" to that of faith was a leap, but it gave momentum. From the declaration of the faith the progress was steady and rapid to higher learning. They seem thus to have been chosen by Providence to bear the torch of learning, by rugged and bloody pathways, through Moorish darknesses, over the African route, — an improvised, provisional route, — across the strait into Europe.

Unconsciously, in the main, the Arab-Moor accomplished his work. He thought he was laboring for himself; he meant little more; in reality, he was working for the progress of humanity. With a combination of religious zeal and military ardor, he drew the sword for the advancement of the faith and for the conquest of territory;[1] but, when the faith was established, and the land acquired for settlement, his aroused intelligence sought aliment and pleasure in the noblest studies, and he became eager for pupils and co-workers, who would extend the fame of his achievements.

Effect of culture upon the Arab-Moors.

But in these milder employments he was sowing the seed of his own destruction. Like the Goth, he became enervated when he became stationary; his progress in science and letters unfitted him for war, — the never-ending war against the reconquest. "These symptoms went on increasing until populous cities and extensive districts became the prey of the Christians, and whole kingdoms were snatched from the hands of the Mos-

[1] See Guizot, Histoire de la Civilization, lect. iii.

lems."[1] We have here another curious illustration of a national decline, due to learning, luxury, and languor, and a powerful plea for "muscular Christianity." In the words of Gibbon, "the sword of the Saracens became less formidable when their youth were drawn away from the camp to the college; when the armies of the Faithful presumed to read and reflect." The splendors of Cordova were to be the mausoleum of Moro-Arabian greatness. For with their torpor came many vices, destructive of national strength. "Satan resolved to accomplish the ruin of truth, and he obtained his purpose, for the Deceiver ceased not tempting and inciting the inhabitants until he succeeded in implanting in Cordova some of the appendages of idolatry, such as lamentations for the dead, false pride, arrogance, incredulity, slander, vanity, divination, astrology, chiromancy, . . . swearing of oaths, the telling of lies, and the committing every description of sins."[2]

And yet, with all this loss of power, the Spanish Moslem was not at once shorn of his strength. Exposed to many furious attacks of the Christians, he was obliged to fight constantly; and we must not underrate the fierceness of that long struggle to retain his hold upon Spain, — eight centuries, foot to foot and hand to hand, with a powerful and determined foe who had sworn his expulsion or extirpation.

As long as the Ommeyan dynasty ruled over an undivided realm, their hopes were strong; when

[1] Ibnu Sa'id, Kitábu-l-mugh'rab, cited by Al Makkari, I. 95.
[2] Al Makkari, I. 97.

Mohammedan Spain was broken into petty kingdoms, the decline was rapid. What conduced most to their original power was union; what hastened their downfall was division, dissension, segregation. The task and the tenure of the Mohammedan in Spain were completed, long before Ferdinand and Isabella drove the unlucky Boabdil from his throne at Granada in 1492. These Christian monarchs only ejected a tenant whose lease had already expired, but who, with impotent insistance, had refused to go, because his long tenancy had in his eyes established a right of property. With all the consolidation of Mohammedan power at the East, and with this paralysis at the West, the Arabian has disappeared as an ethnic type, or at least has been remanded to his original seats, where he has returned at this day to the inaction and insignificance of the earlier times. Nowhere else, among the millions of Mohammedans, does he any longer represent himself; but he may still boast that he is represented in the sacred person and the scripture of his mighty prophet, *Mohammed.* The triumphs of the Moslem faith were not to cease because the dominion of the Arab-Moors in Spain had come to an end. There was compensation at the East for the losses at the West. More than two hundred years before, the dynasty of the Abbasides had been destroyed with the fall of Baghdad under the assault of Houlahou, the grandson of Zinghis Khan, with his fierce Moguls; but the faith of Mohammed had inspired the Ottoman Turks to conquest; and in the midst of a chaos of wars, Moguls and Turks contested a su-

The Arabian relegated to Arabia.

The perennial power of Islám.

premacy, the aim of which was the capture of the great Christian capital of the Eastern Empire, Constantinople. In that stormy period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century are found the great martial deeds of Amurath I.; of Bajazet, surnamed *Ilderím*, or the Lightning, who was confronted by the wild heroism of Tamerlane; and of Mohammed II., who achieved the great purpose. Only forty years before Boabdil el Chico left the Alhambra, with unavailing sighs and tears, the Turkish sultán, after the most memorable siege in history, was reigning in the capital of the East, and the Te Deums of the Spanish conquerors found a discordant echo in the muezzins' call to prayer from the improvised minarets of St. Sophia. There the successor of the Sultán still prays to Allah to avert the inevitable, the coming of the day when the last sigh of the Turk, as he crosses the Bosphorus to return to his original seat in Asia, shall be the historic answer, delayed for five hundred years, to *el ultimo suspiro del Moro,* as he turned the rocky corner which shut out his beloved Alhambra, and, after a short delay in the Alpujarras, moved on to exile and death in Africa.

The empire of the Ottoman Turks.

In conclusion, the long wars which resulted in the conquest of Granada had given the Spanish Christians a momentum which could not be checked; and the ensuing peace gave them leisure to direct it with judgment. Thus there is a link of great interest connecting the expulsion of the Moors with the discovery and fortunes of this Western world. The joint monarchs entered Granada on the 6th of January, 1492; on the 11th of October, in the

The Old World and the New.

same year, Columbus descried "the moving light" on the shore of Guanahani, and the next day, in sight of the astonished natives, unrolled the banner, the F and Y upon which proclaimed the supremacy of the Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Ysabel. Here let us observe a moral application of mechanical forces in history. The tide of men that had poured down to the conquest of Granada, now at last unchecked by obstacles within the kingdom, rushed across the Atlantic in the wake of Columbus to San Salvador and Hispaniola; with Ponce de Leon and Fernando de Soto, to Florida and the Mississippi; with Cortez, to Mexico; with Pizarro and Almagro to Peru; with Balboa, to the infinite vista of the Pacific. It was the reconquest still, which could not abate its momentum.

Christopher Columbus.

Christopher Columbus found in his name the claim of his first great duty. Loyal to his sovereigns, he was the *Christ-bearer* and *the dove*, — the carrier dove of Christianity to the uttermost parts of the earth. But from Christian Spain he brought, without intending it, only evil to the Aborigines. It was the inquisition of a fierce propaganda; it was grinding labor; it was cruelty, which could only end in extermination of the natives. What he dispensed of Moorish civilization was only good, — the inventions and discoveries they had introduced. His vessel was fitted out in that little port of Palos, which had lately been a Moorish port; his sailors were many of them men with Moorish blood in their veins. It has been asserted that, when the Moors were driven out, thousands took refuge in the south of France, who, after-

wards abhorring the Roman Catholic persecutions, became Huguenots, and that of these many emigrated at a later day to South Carolina. Be that as it may, the Spaniards had found for the world a virgin land, in which to introduce Spanish errors, and especially Spanish bigotry; and the great tide rushed in from Protestant Europe to occupy it.

Here I lay down my pen, leaving to the intelligent reader the easy and pleasant task of further tracing the philosophy and pointing the moral of this "strange, eventful history." It may indeed seem far removed by distance and time from present interests and the great social problems of our day and country. But it deserves special consideration as a striking illustration of the important historic principle that humanity is the same in all ages; that the moral unity of mankind is the first, last, and best lesson of human annals, whether we look under the horned helmet and cuirass of the Goth, under the twisted turban of the Arab, or the fez of the Moor and Berber. Whether in the marts of Cordova, on the 'Change of London, or in Wall Street of New York, — in the eighth century or the nineteenth, the feeling heart and busy brain of man work from the same causes, by the same data, to the same ends. Love and hate, religious fanaticism, self-interest, the greed of wealth and the lust of power, are springs of action which the moral standard of conscience cannot fully control, but never ceases to judge. And to the student of history it is most interesting to observe that the golden rule applies

The moral unity of mankind.

in all ages and to all conditions of humanity. "My neighbor" is not alone the living man, anywhere in the world, with whom I may come in contact to-day, but the Arab-Moor of this history, who requires at my hands a just judgment and a forgiving spirit. Thus the spirit of enlightened historic criticism must rise superior to the prejudices of race and creed and nationality, which the Spaniards have not done. In their historic judgment of the Moors, they have perpetuated the reconquest; they thrice slay the slain. They have been unjust, unmanly, and unchristian.

Historic justice to "my neighbor."

The last lesson to which I shall refer is taught as freshly by this history as though the story was of yesterday, — the long-continued influence of human action. As from a stone thrown into a lake, the ripples would go on forever, were they not limited by the shore; and even then they receive from this restraint a resurgence which, while it complicates the problem, demands recognition.

I have, in the course of this work, found occasion to present certain remarkable parallels. The careful reader of Spanish history will find all the elements of the earlier days at work in the later times, and still influential in Spain. In the North, the Goth still displays his blue blood and white skin, and with them his Teutonic independence. The isolated valleys of Castile and Aragon are still swayed by the Hispano-Roman and the yet vital Celtiberian. In the South, in spite of Spanish disclaimers, the Moorish blood still shows itself beneath a swarthy complexion and under crisp, curling black hair.

The long and fierce struggle between the Christians and the Moslems had given rise to a bitter fanaticism and a blinding bigotry on the part of the former, first against the Infidel, and then against heresy in all its forms. Then the Inquisition sprang into hideous being. Moriscoes, Jews, and halting Christians were brought before its terrible tribunal. The Church would not carry out its own sentence, but "released the condemned to the secular arm;" and thus Spain, which would have been free and safe under its secular government, one of the most liberal in the world, became, at the bidding of the ecclesiastical authorities, a blind and grinding despotism, where life and property had no guarantee. The Church and the State played into each other's hands, — a person who offended the crown was dealt with by the Church; a person suspected of heresy was burned by the State. This constant peril of life has demoralized the Spanish people. It has led to torpor in religious belief, or to hypocrisy as a defence against injustice. The world is not made up of martyrs. With this torpor and hypocrisy came weakness, where a nation only can be strong, — in its people. With the weakness came intrigues and conspiracies and assassinations. Thus shut up within themselves, they became suspicious. They hated strangers; they assumed a haughtiness of sentiment and demeanor. They ceased to work, because labor brought no security. And so the manufactures and public works have fallen into foreign hands, which has made them unpopular. There has never been a nation so abused and injured as the Spanish nation.

Religious fanaticism. The Inquisition.

The baleful effects on Spain.

The Spanish people present to-day, in all parts of the Peninsula, excellent types of manhood and womanhood, who only require time to unlearn the lessons of centuries, and to live a new life under a liberal rule, and with incentives to exertion. Even in this generation much has been done. The deposition of Isabella the Second, the provisional regency of Serrano, the great mistake of crowning Amadeus, the rage of the red republicans, have all been steps to a constitutional government under a liberal and young Spanish monarch, whose happy fortune it may be to inaugurate the new era, and make the Spanish cities once more what they were in the palmy days of the Moslem dominion, — the centres of light, learning, and energy. The great secret is, work for the masses; for the worst thing among the *Cosas de España* is an indolence, so ingrained in the Spanish nature that it has become an organic disease, which time and the pressure of a progressive world only can cure. One generation may pass without effecting this regeneration; one generation may even retard it: but the historian finds in the annals of Spain a philosophy which leads him to hope and to expect the coming of a brighter day. When that day shall dawn, Spanish scholars will review the hidden records of their past with conscientious industry and honest judgment; and, while they dwell with proper pride and pleasure upon the glories of the reconquest, they will not be ashamed to acknowledge the real merits of their Moslem conquerors, and the lasting benefits which have accrued to Europe from the CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARAB-MOORS.

Hopes for the future.



APPENDIX.

I.

OF THE MOHAMMEDAN ERA.

THE Mohammedan year of the Hijra is used in Turkey, Arabia, Persia, and other countries which have accepted Islám. It is a lunar year, its commencement being computed from the nearest new moon. The Mohammedan era is divided into cycles of 30 years each ; in every cycle there are 19 years of 354 days, and 11 years of 355 days, an intercalary day being added in these years at the end of the last month. Thus the mean length of the year is 354*d.* 8*h.* 48*m.*, or $354\frac{11}{30}$ days. This, divided by 12, will give us the mean lunation as $29\frac{191}{360}$, or 29*d.* 12*h.* 44*m.* The difference between this and the astronomical mean lunation is only 2.8 seconds, or a difference of 1 day in 2,400 years.

To pass from the Mohammedan to the Christian calendar, neglecting the slight differences of intercalation, because it is nearly the same for both, we have the formula

$$\frac{\text{Mohammedan Year, A. H.}}{\text{Christian Year, A. D.}} = \frac{354\frac{11}{30}}{365.2422} = 0.970224.$$

The first Mohammedan year began on the 19th of July, 622 (O. S.), or the 19th of July (N. S.). This latter day is

the 200th day of the solar year, or, in arithmetical terms, 0.5476 of the year. Representing the number of years as Y – 1, and the first year in our era as 622.5476, we shall have, as the date of the commencement of the year A. H., as expressed in our calendar, —

$$0.970224\ (\mathrm{Y} - 1) + 622.5476,$$
$$\text{or }\ 0.970224 \times \mathrm{Y} + 621.5774.$$

Thus, to find the commencement of any year of the Hijra in the Gregorian calendar, we multiply .970224 by that year, and add 621.5774.

Take as an example the year 95 A. H. : —

$$\begin{array}{r}
.970224 \\
95 \\
\hline
4851120 \\
8732016 \\
\hline
92.171280 \\
621.5774 \\
\hline
713.7486{,}80
\end{array}$$

or the year 92 A. H. corresponds with the year 713 A. D. To find the exact date of its commencement, multiply the decimal figures by 365.

$$\begin{array}{r}
.7486 \\
365 \\
\hline
37430 \\
44916 \\
22458 \\
\hline
273.2390
\end{array}$$

Or it began on the 273d day, the last day of September.

The following are the names of the Mohammedan months, with the number of days in each : —

Moharram	30
Safar	29
Rabi, I.	30
Rabi, II.	29
Jumáda I.	30
Jumáda II.	29
Sha'bán	29
Ramadhán	30
Shawwál	29
Dhí-l-ka'dah	30
Dhí-l-hajjah . 29, and in intercalary years	30

A further calculation will show that the 1st of Moharram, 1298, will correspond with the 4th of December, 1880. I have thought it best in the history to give the dates according to the Christian calendar.

II.

THE SURRENDER OF GRANADA.

Although the capitulation of Granada is only of secondary interest in this history, I have been led to present the text of the treaties, for the following reason. La Fuente, in the ninth volume of his "Historia de España," p. 392, note, says: "Mr. William Prescott, who is the last historian of the Catholic kings (Ferdinand and Isabella), seems not to have been acquainted with the text of these capitulations, which, moreover, *no other historian before him has given us in the exact words.* This has prompted us to give in an appendix the text of this important document, copied from the original, which exists in the Archives of Simancas."

I believe this to be the first time it has been translated into English. It cannot fail to interest the reader, as the rude, redundant, but exceedingly clear, manifesto of the final defeat and expulsion of the Arab-Moors from Spain, and the completion of the reconquest.

There is an occasional *hiatus* in the manuscript, where words have become dim or illegible by time. In the original the articles are not numbered; but the enumeration in the present copy makes the sense easier to be understood.

I.

CAPITULATION FOR THE SURRENDER OF GRANADA.

MADE AT THE ROYAL HEADQUARTERS IN THE VEGA OF GRANADA, ON THE 25TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1491.

"JESUS."

The terms which, by order of the very high and most powerful and most illustrious princes, the King and Queen, our lords, have been agreed upon with the Alcaide Bulcacin el Muley, in the name of Muley Baaudili, king of Granada, and, by virtue of his power, the said king having signed with his name and sealed with his signet, are the following: —

1. First, it is agreed upon and settled that the said king of Granada and the Alcaldes and Alfaquies, Alcadis, Alguazils, the learned and sage, old and good men, and the community, small and great, of the said city of Granada and of the Albaicin and its suburbs, are to deliver up and do deliver to their Highnesses, or to their qualified agent, peacefully and with concord, truly and effectively,

within seventy days, counting from the twenty-fifth day of the month of November, which is the day of agreement of this capitulation, the fortresses of the Alhambra and the Alhaizan, and the gates and towers of the said Alhambra and Alhaizan, and the gates of the said city and of the Albaicin, and of its suburbs, and the towers of said gates and the other gates of the said city, putting them into the power of their Highnesses, or their accredited agents, from top to bottom entirely, and at their free, entire, and royal will. And that their Highnesses give order to their justices that they do not permit any Christian to go up on the wall which lies between the Alcazaba and the Albaicin, to discover the houses of the Moors, under penalty of being punished. And also that within that boundary they shall give and maintain to their Highnesses their obedience of loyalty and fidelity, and shall do and fulfil all that good and loyal vassals owe and are obligated to offer their king and queen and native lords; and for the security of said surrender they will receive from the said king, Muley Baaudili, and the said Alcaides, and other persons to be mentioned by their Highnesses, one day before the delivery of the said Alhambra, at these headquarters, to be in the power of their Highnesses, five hundred persons, with the Alguazil Yuzaf Aben Cominja, from among the sons and brothers of the chief persons of the said city, the Albaicin and its suburbs, that they may remain in their Highnesses' power as hostages for ten days, while the fortresses of the Alhambra and Alhaizan are being repaired and victualled and strengthened.

And when these terms shall be complied with, their Highnesses are to give up and will give up freely the said hostages to the said king of Granada, and to the said city and its Albaicin and suburbs. And during the time that the said hostages shall be in the power of their High-

nesses, it shall be ordered that they be well treated, and that they shall have all things necessary for their maintenance.

And when the terms to be mentioned, and each of them according to the manner herein contained, shall be complied with, their Highnesses and the Prince Don Juan, their son, and their descendants, shall take and receive from the said king, Muley Baaudili, and from the said Alcaides, etc., males and females and denizens of the said city of Granada and of the said Albaicin and its suburbs and towns and territories, and of the Alpujarras, and of other lands which enter into this agreement and capitulation, of whatever state or condition they may be, as their vassals and subjects and natives (*naturales*), under their favor and security and royal defence. And they shall leave them, and order to be left in their houses and farms goods, furniture, and people, now and in all time forever, without any one's receiving evil nor injustice contrary to law, without having anything taken from them; and they shall be by their Highnesses and people, honored and favored and well entreated, as their servants and vassals.

2. *Item.* It is agreed upon and settled that, when their Highnesses give order to receive, and shall receive, the said Alhambra, they shall command that their people enter through the gates of the Bib Alachar and Bignedi, and through the field outside the said city, wherever their Highnesses may deem proper, and that there shall not enter within the said city the persons who are to go and receive the said Alhambra at the time of said surrender.

3. *Item.* On the day that there shall be surrendered to their Highnesses the said Alhambra and Alhaizan, and the gates and towers of the said Alhambra and Albaicin, and their suburbs, and the towers of said gates and the other gates of the land of said city, it is understood that their

Highnesses shall command the restoration of the king's son, who is in their Highnesses' power at Moclin ; and on the said day they will release to full liberty, into the hands of the said king, the other Moorish hostages who were given with the said king's son (*infante*), and are in the power of their Highnesses, and with them the serving-men and serving-women who went with them, and who have not become Christians.

4. *Item.* Their Highnesses and their descendants, forever, shall permit the said king, Muley Baaudili, and the said Alcaides, etc., great and small, to live, and shall not require them to leave their residences or estates or plantations, and the towers of such dwelling-places, so that they may gather their fruits ; and they shall order that the rents and belongings of said estates shall remain as they are held to-day, and that they shall be judged by their own Saracenic law, with counsel of their Alcadis, according to the custom of the Moors, and that they shall be secured in their goods and customs.

5. *Item.* They shall retain their arms and horses, and all other property, forever, except all fire-arms, great and small, which must be surrendered to their Highnesses.

6. *Item.* All the said persons, men, women, and children of the said city, of the said Albaicin and its suburbs, and the territory of the said Alpujarras, and of all other territory included in the terms of this capitulation, who may desire to go and live elsewhere, wherever they please, may sell their plantations and furniture and crops to whomever they please ; and their Highnesses and their descendants, now and forever, will not prohibit any one from buying them ; but, if their Highnesses desire to purchase, they shall have the prior right to do so.

7. *Item.* To the said persons who thus wish to go and live elsewhere, there shall be ordered to be freighted from

the present date for the next seventy days, ten large vessels in the ports of their Highnesses, for those who wish to depart at once; and they shall be taken freely and safely to such foreign ports as those in which merchants are in the habit of shipping their goods; and, for the space of three years following, those who desire, during that time, to go away, shall have ships provided which shall take them from such ports of their Highnesses as they may desire; such persons always giving their Highnesses fifty days' notice of their wish to depart. And thus also, they shall be taken safely to such ports as the merchants are accustomed to visit with their goods; and, at the termination of the said three years, their Highnesses will not order the freight or passage of such ships, in any manner whatever. But if, after the three years have been completed, any one at any time should desire to go abroad, their Highnesses will permit them to do so, and will require payment of only one *dobla* (doubloon) per head. And if such property as may be owned by such persons in the said city of Granada, its Albaicin, its suburbs, and lands, and in the said Alpujarras, and elsewhere, included in the terms of this capitulation, cannot be sold, such persons may give it in charge to their agents, who may collect the just rents, and remit them without any hindrance to the principal, wherever he may be.

8. *Item.* Neither now nor at any time shall their Highnesses, or the said Lord Prince, or their descendants, use any coercion upon the Moors living to-day, or those who shall succeed them, to retain or convert them (*á que traigan señales*).

9. *Item.* Their Highnesses, in order to make generous and gracious grants (*per facer bien é merced*) to the said king, Muley Baaudili, and to the people of the said city

of Granada, of the Albaicin and its suburbs, shall exempt them for the first three years, from the date of this capitulation, from all taxes which they have been accustomed to pay for their houses and possessions, except that they shall pay to their Highnesses the tenth of their breadstuffs, and the tenth of their cattle on the days of tithing, in the months of April and May.

10. *Item.* The said king, Muley Baaudili, and the other persons to be mentioned, of the said city and Albaicin and suburbs, and the lands in the Alpujarras and elsewhere, included in this capitulation, shall give up, and do give up, to their Highnesses at once, freely, without cost, all the Christian captives, male and female, now in their own hands, or held by them in other countries.

11. *Item.* Their Highnesses will not take from the said king, Muley Baaudili, or from the other said persons, men nor beasts for any service, except such as are themselves willing, who shall be paid their just daily wages.

12. *Item.* No Christian shall make bold (*sea osado*) to enter a house of prayer of the said Moors, without permission of the Alfaquies; and, if he enter, he shall be punished by their Highnesses.

13. *Item.* No Jew shall be an agent or receiver, nor shall have any command or jurisdiction over them [the Moors].

14. *Item.* The said king, Muley Baaudili, and the said Alcaides, etc., of the said city of Granada, of the Albaicin, its suburbs, and lands, and of the said Alpujarras, and other portions included in this capitulation, shall be honored and respected by their Highnesses and their agents, and shall be heard, and their good usages and customs protected; and there shall be secured to the Alcaides and Alfaquies their salaries and dues and franchises, and

all other things, and each of them, according to the manner in which they enjoy them at the present time.

15. *Item.* If controversy or question shall arise among the said Moors, they shall be adjudicated according to their Saracenic law, and by their Alcaides, according to the custom of the Moors.

16. *Item.* Their Highnesses shall not have guests turned out, nor clothing taken away, nor birds nor beasts, from the houses of the said Moors; nor shall their Highnesses or their people take from them against their will, nor assume possession of their rooms or guests or provisions, or commit any other acts of injustice.

17. *Item.* If any Christian shall forcibly enter the house of any Moor, their Highnesses shall order him to be proceeded against by the judges.

18. *Item.* Concerning inheritance among the Moors, the order shall be followed and the cases adjudged according to the custom of the said Moors.

19. *Item.* All the people and inhabitants of the towns and places in the said city and the said Alpujarras, and the other territory included in this capitulation, and in all other lands which shall come under the control and obedience of their Highnesses within thirty days after the said surrender, shall profit by this agreement and capitulation, except as to the before-mentioned three years of exemption.

20. *Item.* The revenues of the said possessions or treasures and other things given for charity, and the revenues of the primary schools for boys, shall remain under the governments of the Alfaquies, and that they may spend and distribute the said charities as the said Alfaquies shall see to be proper and convenient; and their Highnesses shall not interfere in any manner with the said charities, nor place any embargo upon them now or at any time whatever.

21. *Item.* No judicial action shall take place against the person of any Moor for evil done by another; the father shall not suffer for the son, nor the son for the father, nor brother for brother, nor cousin for cousin, but every one shall suffer only for his own wrong-doing.

22. *Item.* Their Highnesses shall cause to be pardoned and shall pardon the Moors of those places which were taken by the Alcaide Hamet Abouli, for the Christians and Moors that were slain there, and the things captured there shall never be reclaimed at any time.

23. *Item.* Their Highnesses shall cause to be pardoned to the Moors of Alcabdyl everything they have done and committed contrary to the service of their Highnesses, on account of the necessities of the men, of whatever character.

24. *Item.* If any Moor being a captive shall have fled to the said city of Granada, its Abaicin and suburbs, and to the other places mentioned in this treaty, he shall be free; and neither the justices nor his master may proceed against him, unless he be from the Islands or the Canaries.

25. *Item.* The said Moors shall not be required to give or pay to their Highnesses more taxes than those they were accustomed to give and pay to the Moorish kings.

26. *Item.* If any one of the native-born people of the said city, its Albaicin, its suburbs, the lands of the Alpujarras, and the other parts included in this treaty, have gone abroad, he shall be allowed the limit of the first three following years to come and enjoy everything set down in this capitulation.

27. *Item.* If any Christian captives shall have been sold, or placed beyond their power, they shall not be obliged to retake them, nor to return what they received for them.

28. *Item.* If the said king Muley Baaudili, or the said Alcaides, or any of the natives of the city of Granada, its Albaicin, its suburbs, the Alpujarras, and the other-mentioned parts, shall go abroad, they shall not enjoy these conditions there, unless they return within the three years to carry out the terms of this capitulation.

29. *Item.* All the merchants of the said city, etc., may go and come, and make their commercial contracts freely and safely throughout the lands and seigniories of their Highnesses without paying any more taxes, excises, or tolls than those paid by the Christians.

30. *Item.* If any Moor shall have taken a Christian woman to wife who has turned Moor, she may not be forced to become a Christian against her will. It shall be asked, in the presence of Christians and Moors, if she wishes to become a Christian. And, in the matter of sons and daughters born to such a union, the existing terms of the law shall be obeyed.

31. *Item.* If any Christian man or woman shall have become a Moor in past times, no person shall dare to taunt or revile them in any way. Those who do so shall be punished by their Highnesses.

32. *Item.* No Moorish man nor woman shall be coerced to become a Christian.

33. *Item.* If any Moorish woman, wife, widow, or maid, should wish to become Christian on account of affection (*por amores*), such shall not be received until she is questioned and warned as to the terms of the law. If any jewels or other things shall have been forcibly taken from the house of her father, relations, or other persons, they shall be returned and restored to the power of those to whom they belong, and the magistrates shall proceed against the person who took them according to the law.

34. *Item.* Their Highnesses and their descendants for-

ever shall not ask nor consent that it be asked, nor shall they order, that there be taken from or returned, by the said king, Muley Baaudili, or by his servants and slaves, or by the other persons of the said city, its Albaicin, etc., whatever they took in time of the wars, of horses, beasts of burden, clothing, cattle, greater or less silver, gold, or anything else, whether belonging to Moors or to Christians, nor the hereditaments which the said Moors have taken ; and if any one recognizes certain things of his that have been thus taken, he shall not demand them ; if he demand them he shall be punished.

35. *Item.* If, up to this time, any Moor shall have robbed or wounded or reviled any Christian captive, man or woman, whom he had in his power, he shall not be inquired of concerning it now or at any time hereafter.

36. *Item.* The royal lands and estates shall not pay more imposts after the completion of the three years of the said exemption than what their just value would require them to pay as common lands.

37. *Item.* This same order shall be observed as to the inheritances of the Moorish gentlemen and Alcaides. They shall not pay more taxes than those deemed just and right for the common lands.

38. *Item.* The native-born Jews of the city of Granada, etc., shall profit by this same treaty and these capitulations, and the Jews who before were Christians are allowed the time of one month to leave the country (*se pasar allende*).

39. *Item.* Governors, Alcaides, and justices whom their Highnesses shall order to be placed in the said city, etc., shall be such as they are confident will carry out honorably the terms of this entire capitulation. And if any one of them should do what he ought not to do, their Highnesses will order him to be punished, and place another in his position who will do his duty.

40. *Item.* Their Highnesses and their descendants forever will not ask or demand of the said king, Muley Baaudili, nor of any of the said Moors, concerning anything they have done in any manner up to the day of the completion of the said treaty of the said surrender of the said Alhambra ; that is, during the said time of the said seventy days within which the said Alhambra and other strongholds are to be delivered up.

41. *Item.* No gentleman nor Alcaide nor servant of those belonging to the king *who was of Guadix*, shall have any authority or command.

42. *Item.* If there should be any quarrel between a Christian man or woman and a Moorish man or woman, the said quarrel shall be settled in the presence of a Christian Alcaide and a Moorish Alcadi, so that no one may complain of want of justice between them.

43. *Item.* All that has been herein said, their Highnesses will order to be made good to the said king, Muley Baaudili, at the said city of Granada, on the day when the said city, etc., shall be surrendered to their Highnesses, as set forth in their letters of privilege, signed, and sealed with their leaden seal attached by silken strings, and confirmed by the Lord Prince, their son, the Very Reverend Cardinal of Spain, the Masters of Orders, the prelates, archbishops, and bishops, the grandees, dukes, marquises, military governors (*adelantados*), and prothonotaries, in token that every stipulation herein contained is and shall be valid and operative, now and forever.

44. *Item.* Their Highnesses, in order to deal fairly and mercifully with the said king, Muley Baaudili, and the other said persons, natives and dwellers in the said city of Granada, its Albaicin and suburbs, etc., are pleased to release the Moorish captives, men and women of the said city, Albaicin, and suburbs, freely, without any cost and

without their paying duty for the said captives or imposts at the gates, or elsewhere. Their Highnesses will order the delivery in the following manner: The captive Moors, men and women, of the said city, etc., in Andalusia, shall be surrendered within the following five months; and the captive Moors who are in Castile within the following eight months; and two days after the Christian captives have been delivered up, their Highnesses shall give up two hundred Moorish captives of both sexes, — the hundred who are held as hostages, and another hundred who are not.

45. *Item.* At the time when their Highnesses shall order the surrender in the said city and Albaicin of the hundred captives and the hundred Moorish hostages, their Highnesses shall also order to be delivered up the son of Albadramyn, who is in the power of Gonzalo Fernandez; and Hormin, who is in the hands of the Count of Tendilla; and Ben Reduan, who is in the power of the Count of Cabra; and the son of El Modim and the son of the Alfaqui Hadem, and the five squires (*escuderos*) who were lost by the Abencerraje Abraen, if they can be found.

46. *Item.* Every place in the Alpujarras which shall be taken by their Highnesses shall be obliged to deliver up all Christian captives, men and women, who may be there, without their Highnesses paying anything as ransom within fifteen days of such occupancy by their Highnesses; and if any Christian captives are held as hostages, they shall be delivered up within that term; and their Highnesses will issue orders that Moorish hostages shall be exchanged for these Christians, man for man.

47. *Item.* Their Highnesses give security for all the foreign ships at present in the seaports of the kingdom of Granada, that they may depart in safety, neither taking nor sending away, from the present moment, any Chris-

tian captive, man or woman. No person shall work them ill or offence, nor take anything from them; and if such ships shall take or send any Christian captive, the said security shall not be valid. At the time they are about to sail, their Highnesses order that one or two Christians shall enter each vessel and find out whether they are carrying away any Christian.

We, the king and the queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, etc., by these presents, secure and promise to hold and guard and fulfil all that is contained in this capitulation, in what touches and is incumbent upon us, royally and effectually, as to places, terms, and dates, and according to the manner specified in this capitulation, — each part and item of it without any fraud. And as security for this, we order the issue of this document, signed with our names and sealed with our seal. Executed in our royal camp in the Vega of Granada, the 25th day of the month of November, 1491.

I, the King.
I, the Queen.

I, Fernando de Zafra, Secretary of the king and queen, our sovereigns, have caused it to be written by their order.

II.

SECRET CAPITULATION.

Executed at the Royal Headquarters in the Vega of Granada, the 25th day of November, 1491.

The terms which, by order of the very high and most powerful and most illustrious princes, the King and Queen, our Lords, were agreed upon and settled with the Alcaide

Bulcacin el Muley, in the name of Muley Baaudili, king of Granada, and by virtue of his power signed by the said king with his name and sealed with his signet, *besides those agreed upon and settled by the articles of agreement and capitulation of the city of Granada*, are the following: —

[The first item is exactly the same as that in the capitulation for the surrender.]

2. *Item.* It is agreed upon and settled that, on the day when the said Alhambra, etc., shall be surrendered to their Highnesses, they shall order the delivery to the said king, Muley Baaudili, of his son, who is in their Highnesses' power, and of his servants, male and female, except those who have become Christians.

3. *Item.* It is agreed upon and settled that, when the said king, Muley Baaudili, shall have complied with the above-mentioned terms, their Highnesses shall make over to him, in right of inheritance forever, for himself, his children, their descendants, heirs, and successors, the towns and places in the districts of Verja, Dalia, Marxena, Bolloduf and Luchar, Andarax and Subilis, Uxixar, Orgiba, El Jubeyel, and Poqueyra, with the revenues and rents pertaining, in whatever manner, to their Highnesses in the said districts, places, etc., and whatever other things belong to them in the said districts, inhabited or uninhabited; so that they shall be the property of the said king, his children, descendants, heirs, and successors, in right of inheritance forever, to enjoy the said rents and revenues and tithes, and the magistracy of the said towns and places as their Lord (but always as loyal vassal and subject of their Highnesses, now and forever), so that no one may take them, but that they shall entirely belong to the said king; and that he may sell, mortgage, improve, or destroy

them in any way he pleases ; *on the condition* that, when he wishes to sell or alienate them, it shall first be inquired of their Highnesses whether they desire to purchase ; and, if they do, they shall give whatever sum shall be agreed upon between their Highnesses and the said king ; and if their Highnesses shall not desire to purchase, he may sell to whomsoever and on whatsoever terms he chooses.

Their Highnesses shall be at liberty to build and hold the fortress of Adra, and whatever other forts on the sea-coast wherever they may see fit. If their Highnesses see fit to construct the said fortress of Adra, on the sea, in the port of Adra, the said fortress of Adra shall belong to the said king, Muley Baaudili, after its construction and occupancy ; and in the construction and armament of said fortress, for the labor and expense of the work, and the occupancy and garrison of the place, the said king shall not be required to pay anything, but the entire revenue of the said districts and lands shall remain intact with the said king, Muley Baaudili. And if, affecting these grants, their Highnesses shall have granted to other persons similar grants, these latter shall not be valid, but are revoked by their Highnesses, as of none effect ; but their Highnesses will satisfy at their pleasure such persons as hold those grants or claims, which are hereby revoked. These grants, made by their Highnesses to the said king, shall be valid now and forever, according to the manner herein set forth, without embargo or contradiction.

4. *Item.* Their Highnesses grant to the said king, Muley Baaudili, thirty thousand castellanos of gold, which amount to fourteen cuentos, fifty thousand maravedis, which their Highnesses will direct to be paid, as soon as the Alhambra and the other ports of the city of Granada are surrendered, according to the terms of the treaty.

5. *Item.* Their Highnesses grant also to the said king, Muley Baaudili, all the inheritances and oil-mills and gardens (*huertas*) and lands and estates which the said king has held in possession from the time of King Muley Abulhacen, his father, that he may keep them within the limits of the city of Granada, as well as in the Alpujarras, to pertain to him, his sons, descendants, heirs, and successors, by right of inheritance forever, to sell or dispose of, provided that they did not belong to the kings of Granada as kings, but as private holders.

6. *Item.* Their Highnesses make the same grants to the queens, his mother and sisters, to the queen, his wife, and to the wife of Muley Bulnazar, of all their gardens and lands and mills and baths and hereditaments which they hold within the limits of the said city of Granada and in the Alpujarras for them and their heirs and successors, by right of inheritance forever. And they may sell and bequeath and enjoy them according to the form and number of the hereditaments of the said king.

7. *Item.* All the said property of the said king and the said queens, and of the wife of Muley Bulnazar, shall be free from all taxes and duties, now and forever.

8. *Item.* There shall be given to the said kings and queens the plantations which they hold in Motril, and also there shall be given to Alhaje Romayne the plantation which he holds in the said Motril, to be protected forever, like the other above-mentioned grants.

9. *Item.* From the signing of this instrument, any of the said towns and places which shall be given or delivered up to their Highnesses before the time of the surrender of the said Alhambra, shall be returned freely by their Highnesses to the said king, Muley Baaudili, and shall be properly treated by the said king.

10. *Item.* Their Highnesses and their descendants for

ever shall not require the return by the king of Granada or his servants of what they have taken in his time, from Christians or from Moors, personal property as well as real estate; and if any such property is already subject to any former agreement or capitulation made between their Highnesses and other persons, their Highnesses may at their pleasure pay the persons holding such claims. They order that no one, Christian or Moor, high or low, shall have any power over this act, under penalty of being punished by their Highnesses. No such question shall be adjudged by either Christian or Moorish law.

11. *Item.* If the said king, Muley Baaudili, and the said queens, and the wife of Bulnazar, their children and descendants, their Alcaides, their children and wives, their knights, squires, and other persons, small and great, of their households, shall desire to leave the country, their Highnesses will order them to have passage now and hereafter at any time, that the said persons, male and female, may go abroad in two Genoese carracks, and shall order that these carracks shall be free from all freight and export-duties, and to take on board their persons and all their goods, clothing, and merchandise, gold, silver, jewels, mules, and arms (except fire-arms, great and small). Both in embarking and disembarking, their Highnesses will not demand duties and freight, but will order them to be taken securely and honorably and well treated to any port west of Alexandria, — to the city of Tunis or Oran, or to the ports of Fez, wheresoever they may desire to disembark.

12. *Item.* If, at the time of their departure, the above-mentioned persons shall not be able to sell any of their property, they may leave it, and leave agents to take care of it, — to collect the rents, and to remit them freely to the places of their new residence, without any embargo.

13. *Item.* If the said king, Muley Baaudili, should wish

to send any of his servants or Alcaides abroad with merchandise, he may send them freely, without any scrutiny as to their going and returning.

14. *Item.* The said king may send to any part of the kingdoms of their Highnesses six mule convoys for such things as are necessary for his maintenance and subsist ence, which shall be free in all places where they procure and buy such provision; and no duties shall be exacted in the said towns, cities, places, and gates.

15. *Item.* When the said king, Muley Baaudili, shall leave the said city of Granada, he may take up his residence wherever he pleases in the said lands granted by their Highnesses, and take with him his servants, Alcaides and councillors, judges and knights, and whoever may wish to go with him, with their horses and mules, and arms in their hands, if they wish, and also their wives and domestics, great and small. Nothing shall be taken from them except fire-arms, which must be left with their Highnesses. Neither now nor at any time may they or their descendants place royal marks upon their robes; but they shall profit by all the stipulations contained in the capitulation of the said city of Granada.

16. *Item.* Everything that has been agreed upon their Highnesses will make good to the said king, Muley Baaudili, and to the said queens, and to the wife of Muley Bulnazar, on the day that the said Alhambra and the forts shall be delivered up to their Highnesses, by their letters of privilege, signed and sealed with their leaden seal, attached by silken threads, and confirmed by the said Lord Prince Don Juan, their son, by the Most Reverend Cardinal of Spain, the Masters of Orders, the prelates, archbishops, and bishops, the grandees, marquises, and counts, the military governors (*adelantados*), and prothonotaries, as to everything herein contained, and also by the [*hiatus*]

king, Muley Baaudili, as well as the said queens, and whoever their Highnesses shall require to add their signatures and affirmations.

We, the king and queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, etc., by these presents promise, on our royal faith and word, to hold, guard, and fulfil everything contained in this capitulation, in what touches and is incumbent upon us, as regards places, terms, and dates, and according to the manner set forth in this capitulation — each thing and part without any fraud. And for security we set forth this present instrument, signed with our names, and sealed with our seal. Executed at our royal camp in the Vega of Granada, the 23d day of the month of November, 1491.

I, THE KING.
I, THE QUEEN.

I, Fernando de Zafra, Secretary of the king and queen, our sovereigns, have caused this to be written by their order.

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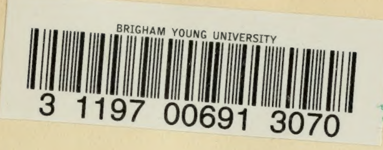
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